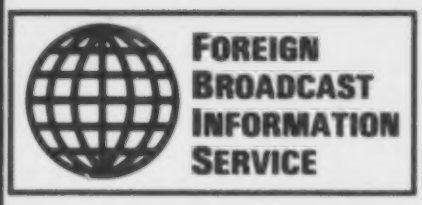

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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

TASS Reports Close of 'Open Skies' Conference 1
U.S.-Soviet Differences Cited *[TASS]* 1
April Conference To Be Held in Budapest *[TASS]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Reportage on Gerasimov's 27 Feb Briefing 2
Kashmir 'Problem' *[TASS]* 2
Havel's Visit to Moscow *[TASS]* 2
TASS Roundup 2
TASS Reports on Burlyay's 27 Feb Briefing 3
MiG's to Cuba, U.S. Reaction 3
Nicaraguan Elections, Guatemala 3
Lobov Comments on Dissolution of NATO, Pact *[Hamburg DPA]* 4

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Receives Visiting U.S. Businessman *[PRAVDA 28 Feb]* 5
U.S. Businessmen Sign Protocol, Visit Kazakhstan *[TASS]* 5
Gusev Receives U.S. Proctor and Gamble Chief *[TASS]* 5
Tourism Joint Venture With U.S. Set Up *[PRAVDA 22 Feb]* 5
IZVESTIYA Queries Congressman Les Aspin *[23 Feb]* 6

Northeast Asia

Talks Begin on 'Withdrawal' of Troops From MPR *[TASS]* 7
Mongolia Politburo Discusses Congress Proposal *[TASS]* 7
South Korea To Promote Diplomatic Relations *[Moscow International]* 7

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentator Assesses Hun Sen-Sihanouk Meeting *[Moscow International]* 8
Further Commentary on Talks *[IZVESTIYA 23 Feb]* 8
Upcoming Jakarta Meeting on Cambodia Previewed *[Moscow International]* 9
Khmer Rouge Refuses To Attend *[Moscow International]* 9
Sihanouk Makes Appeal to Khmer Rouge *[Moscow International]* 10

Near East & South Asia

Envoy in Cairo Clarifies Stand on Emigration *[Cairo AL-AHRAM 26 Feb]* 10
Readiness To Host PLO-Israeli Summit Stressed *[Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF 19 Feb]* 10

East Europe

CSSR's Havel Concludes Visit to Soviet Union 11
Gorbachev, Havel Talks Reviewed *[TASS]* 11
Havel, Dienstbier Tour Moscow *[TASS]* 11
Havel Meets Culture Minister *[TASS]* 12
Havel Departs; Seen Off by Lukyanov *[TASS]* 12
Ground Forces Prepare for CSSR Withdrawal *[PRAVDA 27 Feb]* 12

Moscow Says Troop Withdrawal From GDR Differs *[TANJUG]* 13
Bulgarian Premier Meets Pact's General Lushev *[TASS]* 13
Bulgarian Party Chief on Renewal, Restructuring *[TASS]* 13
Formation of 'Alternative' Bulgarian Party Noted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 13 Feb]* 14
PRAVDA Views Bulgaria's Anticrisis Measures *[12 Feb]* 14
GDR's Boehme Arrives in Moscow for Talks *[East Berlin ADN]* 14
'Persecution' of GDR Communists Attacked *[PRAVDA 10 Feb]* 14
Talks on Kosovo To Begin in SFRY 1 March *[Moscow International]* 15
SFRY Republics Differ Over LCY Congress *[IZVESTIYA 8 Feb]* 15
'National Ambitions' Constrain SFRY Parliament *[IZVESTIYA 9 Feb]* 16
Slovenian Changes Ruled Unconstitutional *[IZVESTIYA 15 Feb]* 17
PRAVDA Text of Iliescu Cable to Gorbachev *[28 Feb]* 18
MSZMP Head Warns Against Private Ownership *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Feb]* 18
Inflation Dominates Hungarian Parties' Talks *[IZVESTIYA 9 Feb]* 19
MAGYAR HIRLAP Editor Views Press Law *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Feb]* 19
Hungarian Economist's Claims, Article Refuted *[IZVESTIYA 12 Feb]* 20
Reform Seen 'Knocking' on Albania's Door *[TRUD 10 Feb]* 21
Prospects for Reform in Albania Assessed *[NEW TIMES No 5]* 22

West Europe

Shevardnadze Receives Rome Club President *[TASS]* 23
Bondarenko Queried on Views on German Unity *[TRUD 18 Feb]* 23
Thatcher Remarks on Gorbachev, Germany Reported *[TASS]* 24
USSR, UK Confer on Inter-German Relations *[IZVESTIYA 22 Feb]* 24
UK Publisher Maxwell, PRAVDA's Frolov Meet *[PRAVDA 16 Feb]* 24
TASS Notes Modernization of BBC Monitoring 25
Soviet-Netherlands Cooperation Session Ends *[TASS]* 25
Agriculture Talks With Netherlands Begin *[TASS]* 25

Latin America & Caribbean

Reportage on Nicaragua's Presidential Elections 26
Chamorro Delivers Victory Address *[TASS]* 26
'No Ground To Doubt' Result *[TASS]* 26
IZVESTIYA Recaps Election Events *[28 Feb]* 27
Talks Held on 'Transferring Power' *[TASS]* 28
Sandinists Discuss Defeat at Meeting *[TASS]* 29

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet Session

Lukyanov Chairs 28 Feb Supreme Soviet Session *[TASS]* 30
Stresses Working 'Punctually' *[Moscow Radio]* 30
Voting Begins on Land Bill 28 Feb *[TASS]* 30
Law on Land Adopted *[Moscow Radio]* 30
Gorbachev Speaks on Presidency Debate 27 Feb *[Moscow TV]* 30
Moscow TV Carries 27 Feb Supreme Soviet Session 32
Gorbachev Chairs Session 32
Presidential Debate Begins 33
Deputies Offer Amendments 34
Draft Debate Continues 34
Evening Session Opens 35
Deputies Approve Presidential Draft 36
Supreme Soviet Discusses Executive Presidency *[TASS]* 36
'Diverse Ideas' Presented *[Moscow Radio]* 37
Attitude Called 'Equivocal' *[TASS]* 38
Ryzhkov Favors Introducing Presidency *[TASS]* 38
Views Authority, Leasing *[PRAVDA 28 Feb]* 38
Kudryavtsev Views Aspects of Presidency *[Moscow TV]* 39

Yakovlev on Concept of Executive Presidency *[TASS]* 40
Baltic Deputies Oppose Presidency Moves *[Moscow Radio]* 40
Supreme Soviet Votes in Favor of Presidential Post *[TASS]* 41
Text of Presidency Resolution *[PRAVDA 28 Feb]* 41
Moscow TV Carries Deputies Speeches 27 Feb 41
Vladimir Kudryavtsev 41
Anatoliy Sobchak 45
Aleksandr Yakovlev 45
Suren Arutyunyan 46
Maryu Lauristin 47
Draft Envisages Professionalizing Internal Troops *[Moscow Radio]* 48
Concluding Remarks at 27 Feb Evening Session *[Moscow TV]* 48
Provisions of Draft Tax Law Package Explained *[IZVESTIYA 24 Feb]* 49

Political & Social

Gorbachev Promises Balts Secession Talks *[Hamburg DPA]* 50
Further on Gorbachev Meeting *[Tallinn Radio]* 50
Draft Legislation for Seceding Republics Reported *[AFP]* 50
New Political Parties Continue To Emerge *[Moscow International]* 51
Laptev Elected Chairman of Journalists Union *[TASS]* 51
Ryzhkov Views 'Complex Times' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 28 Feb]* 51
Reason Given for Price Reform Delay *[Moscow International]* 54
INTERFAX Said To Scoop Congress Platform *[MOSCOW NEWS No 7]* 54
Medvedev, Maslyukov Speak at Propaganda Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 54
Medvedev on Significance of Congress Platform *[PRAVDA 24 Feb]* 54
Proliferation of Movements Hinders Democracy *[IZVESTIYA 25 Feb]* 55
Bakatin Opens Moscow Crime Prevention Seminar *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Nina Andreyeva Hits Perestroyka at Moscow Meeting
[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 25 Feb] 56
Social Democrat Leader Expelled From CPSU *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 10 Feb]* 57

Economic

Medvedev Theorizes on Changing Ownership Relations *[PRAVDA 18 Feb]* 57

Scientific

Heat Control Panels Come Loose From Soyuz TM-9 *[Moscow TV]* 62
Journalists Disappointed About Space Flight Plans *[Moscow International]* 62
Soviet Rockets To Launch Australian Satellites *[Moscow International]* 62

Military

Govorov Interviewed on Armed Forces Anniversary *[Moscow International]* 62
Ceremonial Meeting Marks Armed Forces Day *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Feb]* 63
Tests Refute Rumors on Cruiser Radiation Levels *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Feb]* 64

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Estonia Decides on Moves Toward Independence *[IZVESTIYA 25 Feb]* 65
Latvian Law on State Symbols Effective 27 Feb *[Moscow Radio]* 65
Latvian Rayon Urges Referendum on Secession *[Vilnius Radio]* 65
Anticommunism Seen in Lithuanian Campaign *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA No 7]* 66
Lithuanian Report on 1939 Treaties *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 8 Feb]* 66
Lithuanian Election Official on Election 'Boycott' *[Vilnius Radio]* 68
Government, Parties Asked To Halt Vandalism *[Vilnius International]* 69
5,000 in Vilnius Hand in Military Draft Cards *[Vilnius International]* 69

RSFSR

Yakovlev on Democratic Platform, Marxism-Leninism *[Moscow Radio]* 69
RSFSR Presidium Supports Presidency Proposal *[Moscow Radio]* 70
Artillery Stolen For Sale in Chita *[Moscow TV]* 70
Baklanov, Lizichev Comment on Kirov Oblast Visit *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Feb]* 71
Biryukova Visits Kostroma 15-17 Feb *[TASS]* 71
Vorotnikov Campaigns in Adygey Autonomous Oblast *[Moscow Radio]* 72
RSFSR Komsomol Set Up on Voluntary Basis *[PRAVDA 19 Feb]* 72
TASS Report 72
Vlasov, Vorotnikov Attend Congress *[TASS]* 72
New Leader of Kabardin-Balkar Oblast Elected *[Moscow Radio]* 73
Klaipeda Gorkom Elects New First Secretary *[Klaipeda Radio]* 73
Bobykin Resignation Brings No Improvement *[TASS]* 73
Altay First Secretary Popov Retires *[Moscow Radio]* 74
Deputies Walk Out of Vorkuta Conference *[Moscow Radio]* 74
Conference Resumes, Secretaries Resign *[Moscow Radio]* 74
Maritime Kray Kraykom Holds Plenum *[Moscow Radio]* 74
Maritime Kraykom Bureau Dismissals for Malfeasance *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Feb]* 75
Moscow Gorkom Plenum Reported *[PRAVDA 17 Feb]* 75
'Anarchists' Register as Moscow Candidates *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 6]* 77
Tyumen Obkom Decreases Nomenklatura Posts *[IZVESTIYA 21 Feb]* 78
Unregistered Associations Meet in Saratov *[Moscow Radio]* 78
Preelection Rally Held in Kaliningrad *[Moscow TV]* 78
Incident at 4 Feb Demonstration Reported *[MOSCOW NEWS No 7]* 79
Growing Demand for 'Firm Hand' in Volgograd *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Feb]* 80
Saratov Authorities, Electorate Clash *[TRUD 13 Feb]* 81
Moscow TV on Smolnyy Oblast, City CPSU Plenum 82

Western Republics

'Uneasiness' Over Donetsk Political Situation *[Kiev Radio]* 83
Donetsk Leader Resignations Demanded at Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 83
Leaders Defy Pressure To Resign *[PRAVDA 15 Feb]* 84
Ten Protesting Ukrainian Students Arrested *[Vilnius Radio]* 84
People's Movement for Perestroyka Formed in Kiev *[Moscow Radio]* 84
Group Officially Registered *[IZVESTIYA 13 Feb]* 84
'Friendship' Meeting Held *[Kiev International]* 85
Ukraine's Shevchenko Seeks Candidacy Withdrawal *[Kiev International]* 85
Voroshilovgrad Obkom First Secretary Resigns *[Kiev International]* 85
Skepticism Over New Ivano-Frankovsk Official *[Kiev Radio]* 85
Kiev Academician Denounces Rally 'Democracy' *[PRAVDA 23 Feb]* 86
Sumy Meeting Demands Party Committees Resignation *[Kiev Radio]* 87
Yazov Halts Ukraine Radar Station Construction *[Kiev International]* 88
Moldavian Parliamentary, Local Elections Reported 88
Elections Held *[TASS]* 88
Preliminary Election Results *[TASS]* 88
Popular Front Wins *[Moscow International]* 88
Moldavian Minister of Culture Replaced *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 13 Feb]* 88
Moldavian Newspaper To Carry Language Supplement *[Baku Radio]* 89

Caucasus

Reportage Continues on Azerbaijani Situation 89
Border Rayons Normalizing *[Baku Radio]* 89
Kubatlinskiy, Kel'badzharskiy Rayons *[Baku Radio]* 89
Gendzkha, Sheki Situation 'Improving' *[Baku Radio]* 89
Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Improving *[Baku Radio]* 89
Transport Situation Stabilizing *[PRAVDA 21 Feb]* 89
Dzhul'fa Train Workers Refuse To Resume Work *[Baku Radio]* 90
Troops Raid Jalilabad Rayon Committee Building *[Moscow TV]* 90

Situation on Iranian Border Remains 'Tense' *[TASS]* 91
Notice Details 26 Feb Baku Criminal Offenses *[Baku Radio]* 91
Armenian, Azerbaijani Officials Continue Dialogue *[Baku Radio]* 92
Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Talks Stalled *[Yerevan Radio]* 92
Armenians Urged To Return to Azerbaijan Villages *[Yerevan Radio]* 93
Armenian Operational Staff Reviews Situation *[Yerevan Radio]* 93
TRUD Reviews Situation in Armenia *[13 Feb]* 94
Armenian Railways Now Loading, Unloading Goods *[Moscow Radio]* 95
Military Flying Supplies, Materials to Armenia *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Feb]* 95
Armenian Interior Ministry Issues Crime Numbers *[Yerevan Radio]* 95
Ossetians, Armenians Stage Rally in Tbilisi *[ZARYA VOSTOKA 19 Jan]* 95
North Ossetia Oblast Replaces First Secretary *[Moscow Radio]* 96
Accident Reported at Georgia Power Station *[Moscow Radio]* 96

Central Asia

Kirghizia Preliminary Election Results Published *[TASS]* 96
'Unsanctioned Mass Meetings' Held in Frunze *[Moscow TV]* 96
Reportage on 25 Feb Tajikistan Elections 97
Press Conference Held *[Moscow Radio]* 97
Preliminary Results Cited *[Moscow International]* 97
Supreme Soviet Session Cancellation Explained *[KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 11 Feb]* 98
Report on Arms Smuggling to Tajikistan Defended *[IZVESTIYA 23 Feb]* 98
Reportage on Situation in Dushanbe 98
Tajik Plenum Held *[TRUD 17 Feb]* 98
Area Normalizing *[TRUD 18 Feb]* 99
Curfew Hours Reduced *[TASS]* 100
Trials To Be Held *[Moscow Radio]* 101
People's Deputies Elections Held in Uzbekistan *[TASS]* 101
Preliminary Results Analyzed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Feb]* 101
Repeat Election Set for 15 Apr *[Moscow Radio]* 102
Moscow Radio Defends BBC Journalists *[Moscow International]* 102
Measures Taken To Ease 'Tension' in Uzbekistan *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Feb]* 102
New Organization Founded in Uzbekistan *[TASS]* 103

TASS Reports Close of 'Open Skies' Conference

U.S.-Soviet Differences Cited

LD2702232490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1943 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Ottawa. 27 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets reports: At separate press conferences, the heads of the delegations of the USSR and the United States positively characterized the results of the international conference on "Open Skies," although they noted that far from all the differences have been overcome yet. The conference, in which member countries of the organizations of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO are taking part, ends its work today.

Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, emphasized that it is important to create such a regime which would really strengthen trust between the states. For that, the equal access of all the treaty participants to information gathered during the flights of planes should be guaranteed.

The idea of an "open sky" which was discussed at the conference presupposes the possibility of mutual air inspection for military activity on each other's territory. As the head of the Soviet delegation explained, it is namely the reaching of an accord on the installation of standard equipment with agreed characteristics for observation that the USSR considers as the best way for creating equal conditions for all. However, the United States holds a different position, at the basis of which lies unwillingness to share the information gathered with the remaining participants of the treaty. Nevertheless, Karpov stressed that very useful work has been done and it ought to be continued. [passage omitted]

April Conference To Be Held in Budapest

LD2802091690 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa February 28 TASS—The Ottawa "Open Skies" conference came to a close here on Tuesday. Although much remains to be done to work out a regime permitting states to monitor from planes military activities on each other's territories and clear up possible suspicion over the orientation of these activities.

At the first stage of the conference, which was attended by representatives of all the 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty member states, foreign ministers described the stands of their respective governments.

The "open skies" idea was supported by everybody as a major step in the building of confidence in interstate relations, permitting increased predictability of actions in the military sphere. The ministers took advantage of the Ottawa conference to discuss a whole package of questions dealing with East-West relations. During intensive consultations, in which all countries took part important agreements were reached on German unity and the reduction of the armed forces in Europe.

Experts worked for two weeks at translating the political will for accord expressed at the conference into the language of concrete agreements. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov, head of the Soviet delegation, however, pointed out that some serious differences remained.

Explaining the essence of the differences, Karpov told TASS that, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, it is essential to give all participants equal access to information. If one of the countries accumulates information, which it does not wish to share with others, this will hardly promote confidence-building. "Proceeding from the equality principle, we propose to create a pool of planes, to acquire equipment with coordinated parameters, to process information, perhaps in a single centre, and to give it to any participant in the flight," he said.

"The U.S. stand is different. It believes that only those who have technical possibilities to collect information should possess it.

"Differences remain on these and some other questions. We have obviously run into difficulties," the head of the Soviet delegation continued, "but this does not mean that we shall not be able to overcome them. The most important thing is not to lose sight of the goal, which consists in creating a democratic regime ensuring true openness."

It was decided to convene the next conference in Budapest late in April.

Reportage on Gerasimov's 27 Feb Briefing

Kashmir 'Problem'

LD2702151990 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—The Kashmir problem, which has for years been poisoning the climate of Indo-Pakistani relations, must be solved only by political and peaceful means and on a bilateral basis, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said the 1972 Simla Agreement provided a treaty-legal foundation for a settlement.

The spokesman opposed any foreign interference in India's affairs.

Havel's Visit to Moscow

LD2702160390 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—The working visit by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to the Soviet Union will help raise Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation to a new level in qualitatively new conditions, Soviet spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He said the signing of the declaration on relations between the two countries was an important result of Havel's talks in Moscow.

The declaration "has helped the sides overcome accumulated, negative aspects of their relations and opened a door for the further development of their cooperation in all areas."

Gerasimov said the talks covered a wide range of issues. In addition to meeting Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Havel met State Security Committee (KGB) Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov, State Planning Committee Chairman Yuriy Maslyukov, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov.

The sides also signed an agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

The spokesman said Havel met a group of Supreme Soviet deputies earlier today to discuss the work of the two countries' parliaments and ways to increase ties between them.

"We are satisfied with the results of the visit, achieved through mutual understanding, and believe that, in light of the major changes in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, President Havel's visit to this country has helped the sides compare their positions on fundamental issues in bilateral relations and determine ways to further improve them," Gerasimov said.

TASS Roundup

LD2702180290 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 27 Feb 90

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The spokesman opposed any foreign interference in India's affairs.

Commenting on the meeting between Cyprus President Yeoryios Vasiliou and Cyprus Turkish community leader Rauf Denktas, which opened in New York on Monday at the initiative of U.N. Secretary- General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Gerasimov said the Soviet Union supports the U.N. chief's efforts on the Cyprus issue and wishes success to this meeting.

The spokesman said the third Soviet-U.S. meeting on information exchanges opened in Washington on Monday, the Soviet delegation is headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, and the U.S. delegation—by U.S. Information Agency (USIA) director Bruce Gelb.

Gerasimov said that such meetings "are increasingly characterised by a transition from information confrontation to cooperation."

The second round of talks by Soviet and Chinese diplomats and military experts on mutual cuts in the armed forces and on military confidence-building measures on

the Soviet-Chinese border, held in Beijing from February 8-22, "took place in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere," he said. The sides agreed to continue the talks.

Speaking on the situation in Afghanistan, Gerasimov commented on new proposals by Afghan President Najibullah.

The proposals include suspending hostilities and sending delegations from the Afghan Government to Peshawar and Tehran.

"The Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that negotiations and consultations with conflicting sides justify themselves and facilitate headway on an Afghan political settlement," Gerasimov said.

TASS Reports on Burlyay's 27 Feb Briefing

MiG's to Cuba, U.S. Reaction

LD2702164490 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry official today expressed surprise over what he described as "the sharp, irritated reaction" of the United States to Soviet supplies of MiG-29 planes to Cuba.

Yan Burlyay, deputy head of the ministry's Latin America department, quoted a recent statement by a U.S. State Department spokesman who described these supplies as intolerable.

Burlyay said MiG-29's were being supplied to Cuba in keeping with the Soviet Union's cooperation commitments and were intended to replace obsolete MiG-23 planes.

"There is no build-up of the Cuban military potential," he emphasised.

It would be naive to think that Cuba could pose any threat to the security of the United States or any other country in the region.

"The Soviet Union understands Cuba's wish to replace outdated planes with new ones: It is explained by the abnormal state of Cuban-U.S. relations.

"We believe the situation can be settled by taking confidence-building measures in the region and establishing dialogue between Cuba and the United States in order to normalise bilateral relations."

Nicaraguan Elections, Guatemala

LD2702194490 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—The Soviet Union is ready to respect the results of the presidential elections in Nicaragua, won by the opposition National Union, Soviet Foreign Ministry official Yan Burlyay told a news conference here today.

"All members of the international community should undoubtedly respect the choice made by the Nicaraguan people," he emphasised.

"Regardless of who won, the Nicaraguans made their choice" Burlyay went on to say, "they voted for peace, freedom, democracy, national reconciliation and consent, and the country's economic revival and social progress."

Asked about the size of Soviet economic and other aid to Nicaragua, Burlyay said that the Soviet Union stopped delivering weapons to Nicaragua after 1988. He said that in terms of money, the export of Soviet goods are being sold to Nicaragua on credit. In addition, Nicaragua annually receives 25,000 tonnes of Soviet wheat and rice free of charge.

Soviet-Nicaraguan trade and economic relations are based on agreements. Burlyay said that the Soviet Union was ready to meet its commitments, if the Nicaraguan side acted in the same way. He added that the Soviet Union was ready to negotiate further bilateral economic cooperation with the Nicaraguan government and to conclude agreements with due account of mutual interests and wishes of the sides.

"We will also be ready to discuss military cooperation with the new Nicaraguan administration," Burlyay said. Speaking about events in Guatemala, Burlyay said that the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity Organisation (URNG) had agreed to resume a peace dialogue. He described it as an important step towards settling the Guatemalan conflict.

"The place and date of the forthcoming talks have not yet been agreed upon. However, the people believe that the rebel commanders and President Cerezo are really ready to display goodwill and start searching for mutually acceptable agreements," Burlyay continued.

"The Soviet Union welcomes these intentions to resume efforts towards a political settlement and supports the desire of the sides to act in accordance with the final document of the presidential summit in San Jose, which calls for ending the use of force and terror to achieve political goals and tasks."

"The trend towards a peace settlement of the Guatemalan conflict, the committment of the five Central American presidents to the peace agreements, democratic elections in Nicaragua and the prospect of talks between the Salvadoran warring parties with the U.N. secretary general's mediation show that the Central American settlement is overcoming difficulties and progressing," Burlyay concluded.

Lobov Comments on Dissolution of NATO, Pact

LD2702150990 Hamburg DPA in German 1343 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—As soon as "pan-European home" is established, neither the Warsaw Pact nor NATO are needed. General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact armed forces, put forward this view in an interview with "DIE WELT" newspaper, which appears in Bonn (Wednesday's edition). Both alliances should therefore be dissolved at the same time. This must occur "on the basis of reciprocity," the general said. "The path to this is via further disarmament, via confidence-building and cooperation, and via the system of collective security in Europe."

Questioned about the German unification process and a possible GDR departure from the Warsaw Pact, Lobov said: "I have always thought, and I still think that every nation should be able to decide its own fate." He also views the future Warsaw Pact membership of the respective allies from this point of view. The general ruled out a dissolution of the pact at the present time: "It guarantees, today, the stability of the participant countries. I believe that, after departure, a country will find it much more difficult to integrate in the existing economic relations in Europe and in the world as a whole."

A copy of the interview was prereleased to DPA.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Receives Visiting U.S. Businessman

PM2802102990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 28 Feb 90 p 5

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received 27 February prominent American businessman Edgar Bronfman, head of Seagram Corporation, president of the World Jewish Congress, who is in Moscow, at the latter's request.

During the conversation they discussed some questions of Soviet- American relations, specifically the ways of improving trade and economic relations between the two countries and filling them with specific contents. They also discussed a number of topical international problems.

Bronfman said that the American public, businessmen included, follow with interest and sympathy the processes of democratisation in the Soviet Union and express the confidence that despite difficulties, perestroyka will be crowned with success. He confirmed the intention of the World Jewish Congress to promote the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

E.A. Shevardnadze made a positive assessment of the role played by social circles in strengthening confidence and mutual understanding between peoples.

The talks touched on questions of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Both sides expressed their conviction that it is necessary to step up efforts to overcome stagnation in the Middle East peace process with a view to achieving comprehensive settlement.

Shevardnadze emphasised that settlement should be based on balancing interests of all the sides—the Arabs, including the Palestinian people represented by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and Israel.

He confirmed the Soviet Union's flexible approach to the process of the preparation of an international conference, including the organisation of a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue, and the Soviet Union's readiness to participate in this process.

Shevardnadze set out the Soviet approach to normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and Israel in the mainstream of progress in the Middle East Settlement.

It was noted that Israeli Government's policy with regard to occupied Arab territories, Israel's violation of standards of international law, settlement of immigrants in occupied Arab territories are obstacles to peace in the Middle East.

In connection with the guest's expression of concern over manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, he was told definitely that the Soviet state and Soviet laws protect legitimate interests of the Jewish population, just as of all other peoples in the Soviet Union.

U.S. Businessmen Sign Protocol, Visit Kazakhstan

LD1902210190 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Alma-Ata February 19 TASS—Several industrial enterprises in Kazakhstan and U.S. firms have signed a protocol of intent to develop business cooperation as a result of talks during the visit here of a group of American businessmen.

The protocol provides for cooperation in processing raw hydrocarbon and secondary resources.

In a conversation with the representatives of the U.S. business community, Kazakhstan Communist party chief Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that products manufactured in the republic were exported to over 90 countries, including the United States. The establishment of joint ventures to recycle materials is of mutual interest.

The joint hi-tech enterprises will be ecologically clean.

"Kazakhstan offers vast opportunities for joint efforts by interested business communities," Jack Greinberg of Greinberg Production Company told a reception at the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

Gusev Receives U.S. Proctor and Gamble Chief

LD1602112390 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—John Papper, president of the American firm Proctor and Gamble, has been received by Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Gusev.

They discussed the firm's proposal to organise production of toothpaste, soap, detergents and other consumer goods in the USSR.

They also discussed a possibility of joint work to develop the Soviet pulp and paper industry.

Consultations will continue on the projects discussed, including reconstruction of existing industrial enterprises, construction of new plants and joint ventures.

Tourism Joint Venture With U.S. Set Up

PM2702165390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3

[A. Boldinyuk report: "Passport to the USSR"]

[Text] While Soviet tourists find it increasingly difficult to travel abroad, the flow of foreign citizens arriving in our country remains unabated. We are visited not only by tourists wishing to enjoy our architectural treasures,

but also by academics, artists, and businessmen. Furthermore, judging by everything, as foreign trade ties and services for foreign tourists develop, the flow of visitors to our country will swell.

These were the reasons which prompted the U.S. firm "Zigzag Art Advertising Limited" and the Soviet "Inturreklama" Foreign Trade Association to set up a joint venture a few days ago. Its sphere of activity will be to inform visitors on life in our country and to produce advertising video films and a color magazine which has been given the title "Passport to the USSR."

The founders of the latest joint venture within the system of the State Committee for Foreign Tourism hope that Passport to the USSR will be fundamentally different from its competitors by lacking their forced gaiety. The journal, which will be published bimonthly and only in the English language, is intended by the publishers to carry information which is really needed by someone arriving in our country. Speaking at a press conference in Moscow, M. Cliff, president of "Zigzag Art Advertising Limited," gave assurances that the print quality of the future journal will be up to international standards, while its contents will depend largely on Soviet journalists.

The joint venture's plans also include consultations with "Zigzag" specialists and assistance in the quest for partners for the State Committee for Foreign Tourism.

IZVESTIYA Queries Congressman Les Aspin

PM2702144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Les Aspin, chairman of House Armed Services Committee, by APN military observer V. Pogrebenkov: "Les Aspin: "Exchange of Visits Leads to Trust"]

[Text] The 13-day trip by a Soviet delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security to the United States has ended. The Soviet parliamentarians were there on a return visit at the invitation of L. Aspin, chairman of the U.S. Congress House Armed Services Committee. Before the Soviet delegation left the United States he gave an interview to APN military observer V. Pogrebenkov specially for IZVESTIYA.

[Pogrebenkov] Mr Aspin, how do you see the prospects for the U.S. military budget for the nineties?

[Aspin] A good opportunity has now appeared for us to further reduce the military budget. Our defense secretary, R. Cheney, has already begun to do this, announcing an annual two percent reduction in military expenditure for the next five years.

I cannot say exactly right now how this will look, because much depends on the development of the international situation and prevailing feelings in Congress. But one thing is undoubted: The trend toward the further reduction of military appropriations should predominate.

[Pogrebenkov] The Soviet delegation attended hearings of your committee on the budget for the U.S. Air Force. Did its presence not affect the course of the discussion?

[Aspin] I don't think so. At least, I did not sense it when listening to the reports of Air Force Secretary D. Rice and General L. Welch, chief of staff of the Air Force. The presence of members of your committee did not affect the agenda or the nature of the questions which the congressmen put. Perhaps this affected the replies of the Air Force representatives to some extent. But that is speculation more than anything.

[Pogrebenkov] Do you believe that a treaty will be signed on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments at the forthcoming meeting of the USSR and U.S. leaders in late June and what should the next step be in the disarmament process?

[Aspin] Obviously some details remain which will have to be worked out before the summer. Events are developing very rapidly and I think that the treaty will be ready for signing by the summit. After that, it seems to me, it would be expedient to carry out a fundamental reorganization or restructuring of the armed forces. Then we could proceed further along the path of arms reduction. And the first step on this path after the signing of the treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments could be an agreement on banning MIRV'd missiles or something of the kind.

[Pogrebenkov] As is well known, talks on the reduction of naval activity are deadlocked for the time being. How do you see a way out of this situation?

[Aspin] In the system of arms control we must prepare a reply to this question too. The U.S. Navy leadership should already be thinking of what position to take on this question. After all, its examination cannot remain outside the framework of disarmament talks forever.

[Pogrebenkov] What has the Soviet delegation's visit given your committee?

[Aspin] Above all it was pleasant for us to meet again with the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security. We could discuss with them problems which are of mutual concern. See our colleagues at work in our country, on American soil. After all, visits like yours, when we manage to visit important military-strategic establishments, inevitably lead to greater openness and consequently to mutual understanding and trust.

[Pogrebenkov] During the recent joint working session of Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians many specific proposals arose regarding further cooperation. In your view, which of them deserve the most attention?

[Aspin] Questions of unsanctioned launches of missiles and conversion. As far as these two fields are concerned,

in your system the functions of legislative and executive power are not completely separate. In our country we adhere to a strict delimitation between these two spheres of activity. For instance, in our country the constitution assigns the holding of talks to the executive power and we, as legislators, do not have the right to interfere in, for instance, the holding of talks on banning chemical weapons.

The unsanctioned launches of missiles are another matter. Here we could on the preliminary plane discuss with your committee what organizational and technical means should be legalized in order to eliminate the possibility of unsanctioned missile launches.

[Pogrebenkov] Mr Aspin, you committee includes 54 deputies. What staff of experts and technical workers services them?

[Aspin] Our committee has about 100 staffers. Fifty of them are professional experts and political advisers. We have about 20 secretaries and other technical workers. My personal staff includes 15-20 people who help me in my work. You can ask them themselves whether they like working here.

Northeast Asia

Talks Begin on 'Withdrawal' of Troops From MPR

LD2802044790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0329 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 28 Feb (TASS)—Talks on the time scale and procedure for the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia began today in Ulaanbaatar.

The Soviet delegation is headed by Col. Gen. A.N. Kleymenov, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; the Mongolian delegation by Lt.-Gen. Sh. Zhadamba [name as received], chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] first deputy minister of defense.

Mongolia Politburo Discusses Congress Proposal

LD2702220790 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Ulaanbatar February 27 February 27 TASS—The Politburo of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) Central Committee met here on Tuesday to discuss proposals from party members and scientists calling for the convocation of a statutory and an extraordinary party congresses in keeping with party rules.

The Politburo decided to submit the issue to the forthcoming Central Committee plenary meeting for consideration.

The Mongolian official news agency reports that it was found advisable for the plenary meeting to discuss the proposal for deleting from the country's constitution the article guaranteeing the party's leading and guiding role, the plenum is also expected to discuss the setting up of an expanded commission, including members of the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission, rank-and-file party members and scientists, to prepare the congress.

The Mongolian party Politburo stressed the need to speed up the drafting of a new party programme for the near future, its publication in the press, along with the rules and instrucitons for the election of the party's leading bodies, for a nationwide discussion.

South Korea To Promote Diplomatic Relations

SK2702124190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 26 Feb 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] IZVESTIYA, a central Soviet paper, carried three pieces of news sent from Seoul. The news items are concerned with the prospect of USSR-ROK relations, the prospect of USSR-ROK diplomatic relations, and the prospect of USSR-ROK economic relations.

ROK Prime Minister Kang Yong-hun, speaking at a National Assembly session on 22 February, stated that the ROK is expected to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in the near future. According to the remark by the ROK prime minister, the ROK Government is demonstrating the faithfulness of what they call "the nordpolitik" put forth by President No Tae-u. This nordpolitik envisages normalization of relations with socialist countries including the DPRK. According to Kang Yong-hun, Seoul will do everything it can to improve its relations with China as soon as possible and to promote improved working relations with the East European countries.

A second news item carried by IZVESTIYA confirms that Chong Chu-yong, founder of the Hyundai Corporation, honorary chairman, and a big business entrepreneur, will visit the Soviet Union. He is expected to open a Hyundai office in Moscow and to consummate the talks on founding some joint-venture enterprises. Referring to a report of THE KOREA TIMES, a ROK paper, IZVESTIYA reports that the Hyundai Corporation is planning to build a trade center in Nakhodka in the Far Eastern region of the Soviet Union in which the Soviet Union is establishing a special free economic zone to introduce foreign capital and technological processes.

Now the final news. The ROK business circles are expected to found a working committee to develop their expanding trade with the Soviet Union. To cope with the lack of information on the Soviet economy and the worsening competition among the ROK companies, they found it necessary to establish an organization specializing in trade with the Soviet Union.

IZVESTIYA notes that the total amount of trade between the Soviet Union and the ROK as of the end of October last year increased to $432 million from that of $58 million in 1985.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentator Assesses Hun Sen-Sihanouk Meeting

BK2402075890 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] On Wednesday [21 February] Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the State of Cambodia's Council of Ministers, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk held talks in Bangkok. This meeting was held at Samdech Sihanouk's initiative prior to the informal meeting to be held in Jakarta next week. The outcome of this meeting was the main points of the joint communique which was signed by Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk.

Our commentator, Comrade Oleg Shchedrov, writes:

This is the third meeting between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk if we do not count the multipartite meetings which ended in mutual accusations for lack of flexibility and the declaration on each side's will. This time the atmosphere at the talks seems to be different.

The joint communique stated that the two sides had a better understanding of the goals of the talks which may lead to a convergence of views on how to settle the Cambodian problem. It still cannot be clearly said what the cause of this swift change of attitude was. Some have said the cause was the participants sense of responsibility to avoid a civil war in Cambodia. This is correct. Comrade Hun Sen has proposed the inclusion of the Cambodians in the country's government to ensure peace in the future. Sihanouk, in his capacity as former monarch, will remain a spiritual symbol for the majority of the Cambodian people. Others have said that this change was caused merely by [words indistinct]. They said that Sihanouk risked erasing the Khmer Rouge label which been linked to him in the resistance alliance. As for Comrade Hun Sen, he has tried to seek allies to (?overcome) the Khmer Rouge's military rivalry.

However, the joint communique also defined many points which are concretely conducive to the coming multipartite meeting in Jakarta. Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk advocated broad participation by the United Nations in the solution to the Cambodian problem, based on the Australian plan. Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk supported the idea of establishing a supreme national body to symbolize Cambodia's sovereignty and unity.

Despite some differences, the results of the meeting in Bangkok will lead to an agreement that is acceptable to each side.

In the light of the obstinate attitude of the Khmer Rouge and those in foreign countries who defend the Khmer Rouge, the Hun Sen-Sihanouk talk did not have a decisive impact on the political solution to the Cambodian problem. However, this talk has shown an important step toward this aim.

Further Commentary on Talks

PM2802102390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Ganshin: "Cambodia: Agreement With Opposition"]

[Text] In a number of lead news items the news agencies report the signing in Bangkok of the first joint communique on the results of the talks between Hun Sen, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The document points out that the sides have called for the "creation of a supreme national organ" for the country as "a symbol of Cambodia's national sovereignty and unity." Specialists note among the most important details of the published document the position of both representatives on the place and role of the United Nations in the process of achieving a Cambodian settlement. It was stressed for the first time that "the United Nations' presence at the appropriate level in Cambodia is essential and should be supported." The atmosphere of the meeting is described by observers as "friendly and encouraging."

It is entirely possible to understand the feelings of hope and optimism generated by each positive advance which has emerged in the process of settling one of the oldest and most difficult conflicts into which many countries have been drawn. This in particular explains the multilateral interest in the successful and speedy attainment of specific results at the talks between the hostile forces. Although, on the other hand, this factor naturally introduces additional difficulties to the search for mutually acceptable solutions. But we should not forget the paramount interests of the Cambodian people themselves. For many years they have been deprived of the opportunity to live and work normally and have been obliged to wage a fratricidal war.

From this viewpoint the meeting in the Thai capital and its results must not be underestimated. The nature of the published communique and the actual atmosphere of the talks attest that the sides have taken a serious and responsible approach toward the mission entrusted to them and intend to continue to build up efforts to achieve difficult but extremely necessary accords. This is borne out by the readiness to cooperate in this process with the United Nations and to make active use of the mechanism of the Paris talks and informal conferences in Jakarta which has already been worked out and of the in-depth and to all appearances fruitful discussion of the Australian "Evans Plan."

At the same time it seems to me that some nuances of the recent meeting cannot fail to give rise to justified

restraint in assessing its results. As has already been reported, the prince did not succeed in persuading the "Khmer Rouge" grouping—the most influential and numerically strong in the tripartite Cambodian opposition—to take part in the forthcoming Jakarta talks. In the opinion of diplomats, the "Khmers Rouges"' refusal could undermine any attempt to achieve major success in the Indonesian capital. Indeed, Sihanouk himself, if you recall the statement he made previously in Beijing,, does not intend to go to Jakarta but instead plans to visit the northwest part of Cambodia where the regions controlled by the opposition are situated close to the border with Thailand. It is not surprising therefore that the presence in Jakarta only of representatives of the opposition forces and not of the leaders of the groupings could affect the scale of the talks.

It looks as though the actual participants in the Bangkok talks have far fewer illusions than some journalists and observers with regard to the prospects for a speedy attainment of any global agreements and have far less desire to assess the round which has ended as a major breakthrough on this salient. As the published joint communique points out, the specific details still have to be discussed for the formation of a supreme national organ for which, in the sides' opinion, it will be essential to hold one more meeting, whose time and venue must be additionally agreed. As Hun Sen said when he met with journalists after the talks with Sihanouk, an accord was reached to again continue the talks "in the next few months."

A difficult and slow path lies ahead to seek compromises, mutual concessions, and difficult decisions.

Upcoming Jakarta Meeting on Cambodia Previewed

BK1602075590 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Oleg Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] An informal meeting of the Cambodian groups will be held in Jakarta in less than two weeks. This meeting, which will also be attended by countries concerned, will begin on 26 February. Our commentator, Oleg Alekseyev, wrote an article which says:

In the current complicated situation, the meeting in Jakarta will be very significant. The civil war has continued in Cambodia for almost four and a half months. Exploiting the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, which was completed on 26 September, the Cambodian opposition groups have tried to seize power through force. This is why, until recently, most observers expressed pessimism on the possibility of new peace talks among the warring Cambodian groups.

But thanks to constructive efforts by all parties concerned, the prospects for these talks seem to have been revitalized. There is sufficient evidence to say that the Jakarta meeting will be attended by many parties. Earlier, the Khmer Rouge refused to attend the meeting, but it has now agreed to come. Time will tell what will happen next. The situation is marked by the fact that the warring groups participation in the upcoming Jakarta meeting has increased the chances of success.

Another important thing is that we are currently facing an international accord on the search for a peaceful solution to the Cambodian problem. This is the first time in many years that the countries concerned have adopted a close or similar stance on the path toward seeking a solution.

I would like to note the accord reached recently in Bangkok between Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov and the Thai leaders. The joint communique issued on the outcome of their talks stressed that Australia's initiative on strengthening the UN role gave a new impetus to the negotiating process on a Cambodian settlement. A similar assumption was made by representatives of the UN Security Council's five member countries during their meeting in New York.

Another meeting was also significant. That was the meeting of the three Indochinese countries in Phnom Penh during which Australia's initiative was discussed. The three countries stressed that the most important task was the organization of elections in Cambodia under UN supervision.

Can all these favorable factors help tear down the obstacles and bring about an accord in Jakarta? I cannot make a guess now. The road toward compromise is not an easy one.

Khmer Rouge Refuses To Attend

BK1302065990 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] A Thai Government spokesman said in Bangkok that the Khmer Rouge have refused to attend the unofficial meeting in Jakarta. This meeting is planned for 26 to 28 February. Our commentator Aleksey Nikolayev writes an article, and here is the essence of it:

This news has worried people who believe that the Pol Pot group is striving to sabotage the process to find a political solution in Cambodia. Reports from the Cambodian-Thai border where the Khmer Rouge operate bear evidence of this. It is known that the Cambodian people living in refugee camps on Thai soil under the Pol Pot group have been sent by them to serve as cannon fodder in fighting against Cambodian Government troops. The Khmer Rouge are carrying out many activities on the battlefield at a time when new views have emerged on a solution.

I would also like to mention UN efforts to solve the Cambodian problem. Issues relevant to this solution are being studied in New York by representatives from the five countries that are permanent members of the Security Council—the Soviet Union, the United States,

China, Britain, and France. A meeting was first held in January in Paris. The statement adopted there said the participants are in favor of setting up an interim UN administration in Cambodia to supervise free elections, and insisted on a constructive dialogue among the conflicting Cambodian parties to achieve internal reconciliation. However, the Khmer Rouge have refused to take part in this.

Samdech Sihanouk, who met with Khieu Samphan in Thailand, cannot hope that the Khmer Rouge will change their mind. All this only further complicates the process to find a solution. However, if this can change, the situation would present a positive aspect. By opposing other parties involved in the process to find a solution, the Pol Pot group is being isolated.

I think that, taking reality into account, common sense will compel the foreign forces that are supporting the Pol Pot group to reconsider their positions.

Sihanouk Makes Appeal to Khmer Rouge

BK1202035190 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Many news agencies have reported that the Pol Pot group has refused to attend the meeting in Jakarta planned for 26 February. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk has sent a message to the Pol Pot group appealing to this group to reexamine its stand. However, it is hard to expect a positive answer.

Near East & South Asia

Envoy in Cairo Clarifies Stand on Emigration

JN2702164290 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Feb 90 p 5

[Message sent to AL-AHRAM by Soviet Ambassador in Cairo Gennadiy Zhuravlev clarifying the Soviet Government's position on Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel—date not given]

[Text] Arab newspapers, particularly the Egyptian ones, have recently published many articles blaming us for "ignoring the Palestinian people's rights" and "offering concessions to Israel." Some commentaries also referred to the existence of a "secret deal between the USSR and the United States to increase immigration to Israel." I reject all these speculations and I take full responsibility for that. Our Middle East policy is still based on truthfulness, principle, and frankness. Neither in the past nor currently has the USSR recognized the occupation of the Arab territories. We consider this illegitimate and we call for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories which were occupied in 1967. As we have done in the past, we also condemn the Israeli settlement policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We also completely support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Regarding the departure of citizens from the USSR, as you know we have changed our policy on the human rights issue. We also have laws in our country allowing our citizens to live where ever they like. These laws give this right to all Soviet citizens, regardless of their nationality. This is in line with the recognized international criteria. Therefore, any step to impose restrictions on the departure of some citizens will be viewed as an undemocratic act.

I believe that this tension is not due to the USSR's position but to Israel's political and media campaign. By exaggerating its assessment of the expected number of immigrants, the Israeli authorities are trying to pressure the United States and the Western countries into increasing their economic aid to Israel. The Israeli newspapers estimate the cost of absorbing each new immigrant to be $60,000. No one can predict the number of these immigrants, but the Israeli Government deals with the issue in a special way to get as much aid as possible.

It seems that the issue of settlement in the occupied Arab territories is a political game with selfish interests. This game might have been planned to get further concessions from the Palestinians regarding the future negotiations. Moreover, the Israeli newspapers say that Jews coming from the USSR are reluctant to go to the occupied territories.

In my view, the current tension will not end unless Israel openly refuses to settle the Soviet Jews in the occupied Arab territories and gives actual guarantees that this will not be repeated.

Finally, I would like to note that the Soviet Foreign Ministry's statement on this issue says: "The Soviet Union has not recognized and will not recognize Israel's occupation of the Arab territories in 1967, including the Palestinian territories. It also considers the occupation illegal and calls for ending it in accordance with the well known UN resolution on the issue. The Soviet Union strongly opposes the Israeli policy on building settlements and calls on the Israeli Government to end any plan to change the demographic structure, natural features, or special status of the occupied territories."

Readiness To Host PLO-Israeli Summit Stressed

JN2102110890 Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 19 Feb 90 p 16

[By Mirvat Fahmi]

[Text] Soviet Ambassador in Cairo Gennadiy Zhuravlev has stressed his country's readiness to host a summit meeting between the PLO and Israel in Moscow to bring the two sides' viewpoints closer together regarding the formation of the Palestinian delegation to pave the way for the convening of the international peace conference. He denied that such a meeting constitutes an attempt to undermine Egypt's role as a partner in the current peace talks.

The ambassador added that his country will propose holding consultations among the UN Security Council five permanent member states to give the appropriate guarantees to all the parties to the conflict in the region, providing that this is followed by a minisummit among the presidents of the states concerned.

East Europe

CSSR's Havel Concludes Visit to Soviet Union

Gorbachev, Havel Talks Reviewed

LD2702201590 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel visited the Soviet Union between February 26-27 at the invitation of President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The two leaders informed one another about the social changes in their countries and discussed new approaches to bilateral relations.

They said these relations should be built on the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference and be free from political and ideological fluctuations.

The two leaders also discussed possibilities for developing economic and cultural cooperation.

The Soviet side expressed its regret over the unfounded invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, which had a negative effect on Czechoslovakia's development and the international situation.

Havel received this statement with understanding and said the Czechoslovak public understands the positive significance of the Soviet Union's current foreign policy, based on new political thinking.

He said important steps were taken during the visit towards the renewal of relations between the two countries on democratic, humanistic principles.

Gorbachev and Havel discussed a wide range of issues concerning European and world development. They emphasised the importance of consistently developing democratic trends in international relations, strengthening security and furthering the disarmament process.

They focused on the issue of German unification. It was pointed out that this issue could be resolved according to the free will of all Germans, provided the existing borders in Europe are guaranteed and the security interests of other countries ensured.

German unification must be synchronised with the all-European process and with the formation of a basically new multilateral structure of European security, which will replace the bloc-based structure and reliably ensure balance and stability on the continent.

Gorbachev and Havel signed a declaration on relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, which has been published in the press.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Czechoslovak counterpart Jiri Dienstbier signed an agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia by July 1991.

Talks were also held between Soviet State Planning Committee Chairman Yuri Maslyukov and Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vladimir Dlouhy, between KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov and Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher, and between Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov and his Czechoslovak counterpart Miroslav Vacek.

Havel invited Gorbachev to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Havel, Dienstbier Tour Moscow

LD2702145490 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova and Vladimir Shishlin:

President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia began the second day of his Soviet tour with a visit to the grave of human rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov at Vostryakov Cemetery in Moscow.

After paying homage to the outstanding scientist and Nobel prize winner, Havel met Sakharov's widow Yelena Bonner.

At noon, Havel and Czechoslovak foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met Aleksandr Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Relations Committee, and other committee members.

Dzasokhov said that Monday's talks between Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders and the atmosphere of understanding and openness promise to boost interparliamentary relations, especially given the processes of democratisation in both countries.

Havel supported the idea to expand parliamentary contacts, saying that the two countries could in the near future exchange delegations—a delegation of Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly led by Alexander Dubcek could come to the Soviet Union and a corresponding Supreme Soviet delegation could visit Czechoslovakia.

The sides also had extensive discussion of democratic reforms in both parliaments.

"Our state system is at a fledgling stage, we are learning, but it is evident that people who got responsible jobs and had nothing in common with state policy are doing their jobs much more professionally than their experienced predecessors," Havel said.

The sides also discussed a proposal to give new broad powers to the Soviet president that is now being heatedly debated in the Soviet parliament.

Havel said the new presidency will end anonymous decision-making, and "will by no means infringe on democracy and will strengthen people's control over the head of state."

Then, Havel visited Red Square, pausing at the site where a group of Soviet human rights activists staged a protest against the sending of Soviet troops to Czechoslovak in 1968.

Havel Meets Culture Minister

LD2702202590 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Lavrenyuk:

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel met prominent Soviet artists today. The meeting lasted almost an hour.

Presenting artists, Soviet Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko said that they worked honourably and spoke out when they disapproved of something.

Havel said that creative intelligentsia plays an important role in the country's social life. Mutual wish for cooperation was expressed during the meeting.

Gubenko said that eight plays by Havel have already been translated into Russian. Yuriy Lyubimov decided to stage one of these plays at the Moscow Taganka Theatre. The Czechoslovak president said that he was greatly honoured. He invited the Taganka Theatre to perform in Prague.

Havel was greeted by writer Chingiz Aitmatov, artistic director of the Children's Music Theatre in Moscow Natalya Sats, architect Yuriy Platonov and others.

Poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko presented the Czechoslovak president with a collection of works issued by the recently formed writers' association "Aprel".

A bust of prominent Czechoslovak humanist Jan Komensky by Gennadiy Raspopov was presented as a gift to the Czechoslovak people.

Havel Departs; Seen Off by Lukyanov

LD2702161390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—A two-day working visit to the USSR by Vaclav Havel, the president of Czechoslovakia, ended today. He was seen off at Vnukovo Airport by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and by other officials.

Ground Forces Prepare for CSSR Withdrawal

PM2702170090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov of the USSR Defense Ministry Press Center for PRAVDA, under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Trains Set Off for Chop"]

[Text] On 27 February service in the Central Group of Forces ends for many servicemen in the tank division commanded by Colonel V. Tikhomirov. In accordance with the agreement reached at the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks, the withdrawal of our troops from Czechoslovaka begins with this formation.

In the coming days nearly 20 columns, each comprising 100 units of wheeled equipment, are to pass through the roads of Czechoslovakia. Tanks, infantry combat vehicles, and other track-laying equipment and military property belonging to the division will be sent home by rail. And that means nearly 100 trains... Loading is already in progress at Krnov, Bruntal, and Domasov stations... It is planned to dispatch two or three trains a day. The troops have to go more than 500 km before crossing the Soviet border.

How are the final preparations for the redeployment going? An operations group to monitor the withdrawal has been set up at the Ground Forces Main Staff. Its head, Lieutenant General A. Nadolskiy, deputy chief of the Main Staff, says:

"We are operating in the conditions of an acute shortage of time. We had a very short space of time in which to decide what regions to withdraw the troops to, and to reconnoiter. Col V. Tikhomirov's tank division will now be deployed in Moscow Military District. Barracks have already been prepared for the sergeants and soldiers. I will not conceal the fact that the situation is more difficult as regards housing for the families of officers and warrant officers. After all, many of those serving in the CSSR have no apartments at home. The garrison where the tankmen are to be stationed is unfortunately not rich in housing for officers and warrant officers.

"We are trying to do everything," the general goes on, "to reduce the urgency of the apartment question. The construction of other facilities is being postponed and all efforts are being channeled solely into housing construction. Barracks are being refitted to provide temporary accommodation for families. In the next 3 years, solely in the garrison where the tankmen are to be stationed, it is planned to build more than 10 apartment blocks.

"Of course, all this will not entirely resolve the housing problems. The Ministry of Defense's own forces are unlikely to find a way out of the situation. After all, we are not only withdrawing one division. And we need not only housing, but kindergartens, schools, clinics... We have a right to count on substantial assistance from the Soviet Government. I think it would be apposite here to

recall the enormous housing debt which local organs of soviet power are in no hurry to repay to the military units. And that would help, to some extent, to lessen the urgency of the apartment crisis for the servicemen arriving from abroad."

Our conversation is interrupted by a telephone call. The Central Group of Forces is on the line. Col M. Gavrilov, chief of the Central Group of Forces operations group, tells me about the preparations for withdrawal.

"How is the men's morale?" I ask.

"Morale? Morale is fine, cheerful. After all, we are going home. How are things with the apartments?"

Apartments, apartments again... Everything must be done to ensure that this question is not so worrying. The Motherland's defenders have the right to a normal life...

The first train arrives in Chop today.

Moscow Says Troop Withdrawal From GDR Differs

LD2702180490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Germany completely differs in character from the pullout from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, political circles in Moscow said on Tuesday.

The withdrawal from East Germany is linked, the circles said, to the obligations of the four big powers—Soviet Union, United States, France and Great Britain—victors in World War Two, and it can take place only with the respect of the security interests of all interested states.

The Soviet stand is an answer to Western insisting that a united Germany remains within NATO, but that Western troops would not cross over to the current East German territory as a concession to the Soviets.

Moscow described this as unacceptable, underscoring that the Soviet troops will not withdraw and the two Germanies will not reunite until the Soviet Union's vital interests are taken into account.

The situation is completely different, the circles said, regarding Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Soviet Union would be willing to open talks with the latter as soon as Warsaw demands that.

It seems, however, that Poland does not intend to do this in view of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's unwillingness to confirm the inviolability of Poland's borders, leaving this issue to be discussed by the government of the united Germany.

Bulgarian Premier Meets Pact's General Lushev

LD1602001990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1454 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, 15 Feb (TASS)—A. Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, today received Army General P.G. Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, who is here.

On behalf of the country's government, A. Lukanov confirmed the policy of Bulgaria's active participation in the Warsaw Pact and expressed full support for the member states' efforts directed toward activating the processes of disarmament and establishing a climate of trust and mutual cooperation in Europe and the world.

The meeting was attended by Army General D. Dzhurov, the Bulgarian minister of national defence.

Bulgarian Party Chief on Renewal, Restructuring

LD2702205790 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia February 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko:

At its extraordinary 14th congress the Bulgarian Communist Party has set course for renewal, for restructuring. Alexander Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party, said in an interview with TASS for the magazine "Ekho Planety".

The party is assuming new qualities, those of a party of democratic socialism, he said. "We wish our party to remain a Marxist party, but one that is contemporary, with modern understanding of problems in Bulgaria and the world," he said.

"It will be implementing its policy in a democratic way, will be organising itself as a political force based on democratic principles. This process is not smooth, since many problems have accumulated in the party."

The renewal of the Bulgarian Communist Party should affect every aspect—the ideological base, political thinking, party structure, personnel and the name, Lilov said.

The new name should reflect the new essence of the party: its decision to take the lead in the construction of a humane, democratic socialist society.

Asked about the party's priority and strategic goals, he emphasised that most immediate tasks are the renewal of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the scheduled free elections and political and economic reform in the party. Everything else depends on their solution.

"If we succeed in renewing the Bulgarian Communist Party and in overcoming the crisis of confidence, we will have advanced greatly towards ensuring its victory at the elections and creating political prerequisites for the

restructuring of socialist society. Regarding strategic tasks, the most important of them is the construction of democratic socialism in Bulgaria," Iilov said.

Formation of 'Alternative' Bulgarian Party Noted

PM1402125390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Single Edition p 3

[Unattributed Report: "Split in the Bulgarian Communist Party"]

[Text] The urgent tasks of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] were discussed at a conference held here on Sunday with the participation of Supreme Party Council and BCP Parliamentary group members and the party aktiv. A. Lilov, chairman of the BCP Supreme Party Council, made an address to those present.

He noted that the party has not yet overcome the inertia and passivity which had emerged in its ranks as a result of the serious political, economic, social, and moral crisis into which the previous authoritarian regime had led the country. The way out of this dangerous state, he said, is along the path to the implementation of congress decisions and active preparation for the parliamentary elections.

The attention of the participants in the second national conference of the faction that operates within the BCP—the Alternative Socialist Association—held the same day was also focused on the results of the extraordinary 14th BCP Congress. During the discussion held during the conference it was said that the 14th congress had not shown the BCP as having a clear understanding of the difficult situation in the party. Criticism was leveled at the BCP leading body.

The decision of a number of Alternative Socialist Association members to leave the BCP and create a new political organization—the Alternative Socialist Party—was announced at the conference. Registration in the new party started right away, and by the end of the conference around 650 people had joined it.

PRAVDA Views Bulgaria's Anticrisis Measures

PM1402113590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondents L. Zhmyrev and A. Krushinskiy dispatch: "'Brave People.' This Is How Bulgaria's New Government Is Described"]

[Excerpts] Sofia—A new government, composed entirely of Communists, was formed in Bulgaria at the end of last week. It is headed by Andrey Lukanov, who is now in his 52d year. [passage omitted]

Lukanov outlined his political program in a statement following the new government's election. In order to lead the country out of the crisis it will be necessary to achieve economic and financial recovery and to embark on the implementation of comprehensive economic reform based on market economy principles. As regards international relations, the prime minister declared, Bulgaria will count on its friends and partners abroad. There was a declaration of Bulgaria's intention to join the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and GATT.

Lukanov is now in the process of intensive consultations with representatives of the USSR, the United States, France, Italy, Japan, and other countries on questions of ways out of the crisis situation. Hopes are pinned on obtaining credit on advantageous terms.

As regards ties with the USSR, Bulgaria is, as before, relying primarily on receiving oil, gas, ore, metal, timber, and other raw material in exchange for electronic goods, electric trucks, vegetables, fruit, and canned food. Let us note that in connection with the anticrisis program hardly anything is being said or written about the role of CEMA, the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress, or joint Soviet-Bulgarian enterprises. Evidently, alas, their practical effect on the Bulgarian economy's recovery is so small that this factor is scarcely taken into account...

GDR's Boehme Arrives in Moscow for Talks

LD2802103290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1007 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The chairman of the GDR Social Democratic Party, Ibrahim Boehme, arrived in Moscow this morning for a three-day visit.

On arrival, Boehme told ADN that he hoped to reach agreement with his Soviet partners on German policy and European matters. He also wanted to find out in greater detail the Soviet side's opinion on certain problems.

Scheduled for this afternoon is a talk between Boehme and Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev.

'Persecution' of GDR Communists Attacked

PM1302121590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 90 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov: "Justice Under Threat: Atmosphere of Persecution Surrounding Members of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—Sixteen prominent lawyers have called on the People's Chamber, which can issue an appropriate instruction to the prosecutor's office, to suspend the investigation into the cases of former GDR party and state leaders. The investigators should resume their work only after the elections to the supreme organ of power have taken place in the country on 18 March.

What has provoked this group of lawyers' unusual request? They explain their move by saying that the

conditions do not exist in the GDR at present for investigation and court examination to be objective in nature. [passage omitted]

In all events, when the charge of breach of trust, abuse of power, and corruption has been leveled against members of the PDS the party has expelled the compromised people from its ranks. Advancing along the path of renewal, the PDS rightly considers that those who breach its Rules and particularly those who transgress the law are going in a different direction.

The charges leveled against a number of party workers in the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] have put the PDS in a difficult position. The concerted efforts of the opposition and the West German mass media have created an atmosphere of hysteria and persecution around it from which it is above all honest members of the party who suffer. Particularly those who have devoted their entire lives to the cause of socialism and the defense of working people's interests without receiving any privileges at all for doing so. Blatant injustice tantamount to reprisals is being meted out to them. This sometimes results in cases which can only be described as outrageous. [passage omitted]

It is difficult to see how fomenting an inflammatory campaign against PDS members solely because they stuck to their views and devoted all their energy to strengthening the GDR and the cause of socialism is compatible with the ideas of human rights and political pluralism upheld by the new party and public movements in the GDR. Or how it is compatible with the idea of the rule-of-law state. The law does not permit reprisals. Participation in the inflammatory campaign is no adornment to anyone's political image.

Talks on Kosovo To Begin in SFRY 1 March

LD2702212390 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 2000 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The first roundtable talks to settle the tense situation in Kosovo will begin in Mostar [Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina] on 1 March. According to a local press report, representatives of provincial authorities, of the Albanian majority, and of the Serb minority of the population in Kosovo will take part.

SFRY Republics Differ Over LCY Congress

PM1602101390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov report: "Will LCY Congress Be Completed?"]

[Text] Belgrade—Two weeks have passed since the dramatic developments at the Extraordinary 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress. The recess announced on the night of 23 January after the ostentatious walkout from the session hall of the Slovenian communist delegation and meant, according to M. Pancevski, chairman of the Central Committee Presidium, to last for three weeks, is running out. But the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which was instructed by the delegates to name the date for continuing the congress, cannot bring itself to do it. A congress on which so many hopes were pinned for a solution to Yugoslav society's most acute problems has ignominiously ground to a halt a considerable distance from the finish.

Probably on that alarming and memorable night of the communist split, which became a sad reality before the eyes of all Yugoslavia, everything possible was done by the members of the working presidium to preserve hopes that the crisis would be overcome, that the LCY's unity would be restored, and that the truly extraordinary party congress would be continued and completed soon. The delegates ratified almost unanimously the resolution proposed by the working presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium on continuing the interrupted forum in the near future. It seemed that the congress had found the strength to draw back from the dangerous brink of final collapse.

The resolution instructed that plenums of republic and autonomous province party committees be held immediately, that possible ways to consolidate and preserve the unity of the LCY be discussed at them together with the congress delegates, that a platform acceptable to everyone be found, and that delegates reassemble in the main hall of Belgrade's "Sava Center" in two or three weeks. This two- or three-week recess was fateful for the entire LCY. History, as it were, gave the "leading party" one more chance to try to recover its shaky positions and to get back on its feet. The weekly KOMUNIST wrote: "Either the LCY simply leaves the political scene as the main culprit for all the errors made in recent decades, or it tries to find the strength to continue its life even in the extraordinary situation which has taken shape."

"Continue its life" can be interpreted in different ways—either as a united all-Yugoslav collective of internationalists defending the interests of all the federation's inhabitants, or broken down into eight separate national parties (the number of republics and autonomous provinces) reflecting the interests primarily of their own regions. In the SFRY interethnic and all kinds of interrepublic clashes have recently constituted the main danger to the successful implementation of the planned reforms, the democratization of society, and the improvement of the political system. And people expected reassuring decisions from the 14th congress, above all on the aggravated interethnic problems. But it was precisely the contradictions and clashes between the communist delegations from the various republics, as we have already stressed in dispatches from the congress, which led to the crisis at the forum itself.

Literally the day after the congress stopped its work, more major Albanian separatist demonstrations began in Kosovo, shaking the entire federation and provoking a broad international reaction. In a matter of days the

sociopolitical situation in the country sharply deteriorated, and in Kosovo itself it almost reached the point of civil war. The local press notes that the fate of the federation, its integrity, and its future was being decided in the territory of Kosovo.

What measures did the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium take in connection with the dramatic events in the autonomous province? Virtually none: The party headquarters limited itself to a routine statement about the situation in Kosovo, and its voice was the last to be heard in a country which was alarmed and seething with demonstrations. This delay, alas, was no accident: The unusual situation at the congress, and the minimal time allocated to the LCY to recover its strength did not greatly concern certain members of the presidium, the newspaper BORBA writes. Thus S. Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, immediately went on vacation. Other members of the Presidium followed his example. Meanwhile the opponents of a united LCY strengthened their positions.

The first conference of the League of Communists of Slovenia [LCS] has just taken place and officially confirmed that so far as the LCS, which is an independent political organization with its own program and statutes, is concerned, the 14th LCY Congress has ended. And this means that the Slovenian Communists will not return now to the congress under any circumstances. They are remaining true to their own proposal approved at their last congress—to reform the LCY, which has lost prestige, into a league of independent republican parties or into a "league of leagues." A single nationwide party built on the principles of democratic centralism, in the opinion of the Slovenians, does not now meet the demands of the time.

The main aim of the renewed LCS is to make sure that the republic and all Yugoslavia are successfully transformed into a democratic, European power. At the conference S. Lokar, secretary of the LCS Central Committee Presidium, stated that the "split of the 14th congress testifies above all to the success of the radical section of Yugoslav Communists, and the division of the LCY is not along national lines, but according to strategic concepts of development. Now the world public and Yugoslav society can see clearly who are the reformers in the party, and who are the conservatives." The delegates greeted this statement with prolonged applause.

The conference resolution on the interrupted forum in the "Sava Center" is this: "Because the 14th congress has ended so far as the LCS is concerned, the LCY itself ceases to exist in its earlier form. In this connection the instructions of LCY organs and our obligations to it, including membership of the LCY, become invalid for the LCS." Incidentally, the name of the LCS is also changing—it will be called the League of Communists-Party of Democratic Renewal.

A dispute flared up at the conference about the need to continue relations with the federation's other organizations. Some delegates demanded that all relations with the other republics' Leagues of Communists and the LCY be severed, but S. Lokar's opinion prevailed. "The LCS is not closing its doors to the other organizations." But the doors are open first and foremost to organizations whose program aims are close to the aims of the LCS' own program document, called "Europe Today." Cooperation with left-wing European parties, both "in the West and in the East," and with the Socialist International is not ruled out.

The leadership of the League of Communists of Croatia is supporting the Slovenians increasingly vigorously. The position of the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee at the congress was approved at a republic Central Committee plenum held jointly with the 14th congress delegates. The document stated that the "action of the Slovenian delegation at the 14th congress is fully justified and logical" because the Slovenian delegates at it "were put in an inequitable position." The Croatian Central Committee advocated giving greater independence to the republican party organizations. Milan Pancevski, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was accused of "ignoring the equal rights of the republican Leagues of Communists" at the congress. And therefore the participants in the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee plenum expressed a lack of confidence in the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and other leading organs, stating that now they do not have the right to decide the question of continuing the work of the 14th congress without representatives of the republic organizations being present in Belgrade.

Milan Pancevski was forced to send the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee an open letter whose text was relayed for the press by TANJUG. The chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stated that the accusations against him personally, and also about "manipulations" during the night session of the working presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium have "no real political foundation."

At their own plenum members of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina Central Committee advocated continuing the congress, but on one essential condition: It is necessary to secure preliminary approval of the party's program documents by all LCY organizations. Well, the leadership of the Leagues of Communists of Serbia and Montenegro continue to advocate the immediate continuation of the congress. But, in the opinion of most observers, in the immediate future this is very problematic. It is not impossible that the promised "third plenary session" will not take place at all.

'National Ambitions' Constrain SFRY Parliament

PM1402154590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov report: "Conduct in Federal Assembly Reminiscent of Congress"]

[Text] Belgrade—The joint session of the two chambers of the SFRY Federal Assembly (parliament) scheduled for 7 February was awaited with impatience and tremendous hope here. The deputies were due to discuss Yugoslavia's domestic situation and adopt a fundamental decision on the most acute problems worrying all inhabitants of the country today, primarily the dramatic events in the Kosovo autonomous province. On the eve of the opening of the session it became known that students at all Serbian universities had presented an ultimatum to the Federal Assembly: If their demands regarding the events in Kosovo presented for the parliament's examination were not satisfied, they would demand the early recall of all deputies.

However, the session, which opened Wednesday, disappointed many people, I imagine (it was broadcast on television). Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, delivered a report on the situation in the country and the most important foreign policy tasks. But, as the newspaper BORBA reported, Drnovsek was supposed to speak in the Federal Assembly not on behalf of the country's entire Presidency but only on his own behalf. The fact is, the newspaper explains, that Drnovsek presented to the deputies a report which not all members of the Presidency accept. This became clear at the SFRY Presidency session 5 February, and the previously announced session was almost shelved. Its opening was twice postponed. Eventually a compromise solution was found regarding the authorship of the report: Drnovsek spoke on behalf of the Presidency. There is no doubt that the split has "shifted" from the party's leading elite to the state, and the deputies of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly took this as a signal for the most acute quarrels.

It is hard to disagree with my colleagues from BORBA. The first day of joint work of the Federal Assembly's two chambers was indeed very reminiscent of a session of the recent 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress. All the speakers talked about the very grave situation in Kosovo and the need to defend the unity of the SFRY and the constitutional rights of all peoples and ethnic groups. But opinions varied on the causes of the Kosovo drama, and very often deputies from one republic accused the leadership of another either of aiding and abetting the separatists and extremists or of using "police measures" on the territory of the province and suppressing democracy and freedom there.... Unfortunately, people's nationality determined their assessment of the situation in Kosovo and the country as a whole. There was no joint striving for a collective search for the constructive solutions which the whole country expects from parliamentarians.

It is well known that the fierce interethnic quarrels to a large extent contributed to the division of the LCY and the decline in Communists' prestige in all republics without exception. Does a similar now await the federal parliament and will national ambitions nullify the deputies' efforts? We shall know the answer soon: The Federal Assembly session continues.

Slovenian Changes Ruled Unconstitutional

PM1602162790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch under the rubric: "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment": "Yugoslavia: Constitutions on Trial"]

[Text] Belgrade—According to a TANJUG report, Yugoslavia's Constitutional Court has concluded its examination of the amendments and additions recently made to the constitutions of federal republics and autonomous provinces. On instructions from the SFRY Federal Assembly, the court "tested" about 340 amendments and they all, except those to the Constitution of Montenegro, were found to run contrary to the country's fundamental law. But the federation's public was primarily interested in just a few of the several hundred amendments which were subjected to a "general test": those which "modernized" certain articles in Slovenia's Constitution.

These amendments, which excited all Yugoslavia, were unanimously ratified, to the accompaniment of tumultuous applause, by the Slovene Republican Assembly at the end of September last year. When the chairman announced the result of the vote, the deputies rose to their feet and sang the Slovene national anthem. Events in the Republican Assembly were ardently approved throughout the republic. On the other hand, many people beyond its borders treated them with caution and condemnation. The point was that the SFRY Presidency, the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee Presidium, and an LCY Central Committee plenum had asked Slovene deputies to refrain from ratifying the amendments. Today it can be said with confidence that the long expected split in the LCY became clearly obvious at this "all-night" Central Committee plenum in September. At that time the Slovene amendments provided the excuse for a clash between two political positions within the party. These clashes became increasingly acute and led to the de facto withdrawal of the League of Communists of Slovenia from the LCY and a forced break in the work of the 14th congress.

Last year IZVESTIYA carried several reports on the essence of the amendments to Slovenia's Constitution designed to accelerate social reforms and the processes of democratization. But certain amendments, in the opinion of the state's supreme organs, ran counter to the SFRY Constitution. Their eventual adoption by the Republican Assembly would have posed a threat to the Yugoslav federation's integrity and to the inviolability of its borders. Nonetheless, all the amendments, including the "subversive" ones, are now incorporated in the renewed text of Slovenia's Constitution, and this now enables the republic to secede from the federation as it chooses, to form an independent state, to join other states, to introduce a state of emergency in its own territory, and so on.

Last October the SFRY Federal Assembly decided to refer the Slovene amendments to the Yugoslav Constitutional Court for its expert opinion. The painstaking study lasted four months. Interrepublic disputes and clashes, especially in leadership circles, were exacerbated further still in that time. At the end of November Serbia called on its enterprises and organizations to break all business, economic, and other ties with Slovenia. For the third month running, this "northern republic" has been bearing the burden of a blockade. About 300 "southern" collectives have been forced, obeying orders from above, to break relations with "the north." Both sides are suffering increasing damage from the blockade. In turn, the Slovene delegation "distinguished" itself at the 14th LCY Congress in January: It staged an ostentantious and unexpected mass walkout from the sitting, calling on the LCY to reconstitute itself into "nationally autonomous" republican parties.

National ambitions are making the work of federal organs to implement the planned reforms in the country increasingly complex. This is why people in the SFRY patiently awaited the Constitutional Court's reply to the Federal Assembly.

The court's report, as published by TANJUG, says: Yugoslavia is a voluntary state union of peoples and of their republics and autonomous provinces. The SFRY Constitution confirms, in compliance with the peoples' will, that Yugoslavia's territory is a single unit and its state borders cannot be changed without the consent of all republics and provinces, followed by a decision by the SFRY Federal Assembly's Federal Executive Council. Proceeding from this premise, the court judged the amendments to Slovenia's Constitution to be contrary to the country's constitution.

Local observers emphasize that the court acted strictly within the framework of its competence. "There can be no complaints about the court's procedure," the newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI wrote, "and a result is now to be expected. Yugoslavia's Federal Assembly now has no alternative but, on the basis of the court's conclusion, to instruct the Slovene Republican Assembly to repeal or amend the unconstitutional amendments." But the SFRY Constitution lacks an instrument to prevent the Federal Assembly's conclusions from being ignored. But let us not anticipate events and make forecasts. Let us, for the time being, await the SFRY Federal Assembly's decision.

PRAVDA Text of Iliescu Cable to Gorbachev

PM2802115790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings telegram to M.S. Gorbachev from Romania's Ion Iliescu; undated]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

I thank you for your congratulations on my election as chairman of the Romanian Interim Council of National Accord.

For my part I wish you success in your activity aimed at ensuring the country's socioeconomic development for the good of the Soviet Union's peoples and in the interests of disarmament, peace, and security on the European Continent and worldwide.

I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union will constantly develop in the interests of our two countries and peoples.

Ion Iliescu, Chairman of the Romanian Interim Council of National Accord

MSZMP Head Warns Against Private Ownership

PM1402145190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "In East European Countries": "MSZMP Election Rally"]

[Text] Budapest, 8 Feb—The MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] intends not only in policy but also in composition to be the party of the working class and all the country's working people. MSZMP Chairman G. Thurmer said this in a speech at a rally in the city of Dunaujvaros on the nomination of candidate parliamentary deputies from the MSZMP.

The MSZMP's political enemies, he pointed out, are striving to restore the bourgeois system and private ownership. However, an increase in the proportion of private ownership in the country's economy may result in a further increase in unemployment and the worsening of disagreements within society. This policy will certainly boost the prosperity of a few hundreds of thousands of people, although it will be accompanied by a deterioration in living conditions for millions of Hungarians.

The speaker criticized the government over the fact that the voices of extreme elements are being heard increasingly loudly in Hungary and displays of national discrimination are taking place. The state apparatus and organs protecting public order have begun to collapse. Today, the MSZMP chairman pointed out, one in six pensioners in the country is on the poverty line.

In conclusion G. Thurmer pointed to the need to strengthen the MSZMP's ties with Hungarian trade unions, although individual leaders of the trade union movement are, in his opinion, renouncing cooperation with the MSZMP, failing to consider the working people's interests.

Inflation Dominates Hungarian Parties' Talks

PM1402144390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent F. Lukyanov report: "Agreement—the Guarantee of Stability"]

[Text] Budapest—At the request of M. Szuros, acting president of Hungary, leaders of the 16 main political parties met at the National Assembly building to discuss the problems which have arisen recently in the process of the peaceful transition to a new model of social development.

In the opinion of M. Szuros as well as of M. Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, also taking part in the talks, the stability of the transitional period is now being tested more than ever before. This applies particularly to the economic sphere. The government's severe measures, providing for a considerable rise in prices of basic foodstuffs, have already provoked quite sharp protest. In Budapest and other cities there have been mass demonstrations and strikes by transport workers, metal workers, miners, and workers in other trades. Although an accord on a relatively substantial rise in minimum wages was reached at recent talks between the government and trade unions, the tension generated by the new round of inflation has hardly been completely removed.

It is far from coincidental, therefore, that the talks paid most attention to questions of socioeconomic stability. The opposition, primarily through the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), proposed that the government introduce a simultaneous price and pay freeze in the very near future so as not to inflame the public atmosphere on the eve of the elections. It must be said that in recent days the MDF was not the first party to propose such measures which, in the parties felt, would ease social tension. The Smallholders Party, for example, has even promised to cut food prices in the event of coming to power.

Replying to the opposition proposals, M. Nemeth stated that a price and pay freeze would be contrary to the demands of the market economy. At the same time the government, in Nemeth's words, is holding talks with meat and milk producers so as to avoid a further rise in prices for consumer goods. As a result the participants in the talks agreed to urge food producers to refrain from raising prices for staple commodities during the pre-election campaign period.

On the holding of unauthorized demonstrations, where inflammatory racial, religious, and political appeals are sometimes heard, the head of the government announced that henceforth the police will disperse such demonstrations on a legal basis and by legal means.

A considerable part of the talks was taken up by problems of the pre-election campaign, during which destabilizing phenomena have also been seen. The parties' discourteous attitude toward one another and the succession of scandals which have occurred in recent weeks are not at all conducive to the normal running of the pre-election campaign.

The talks again demonstrated the parties' agreement on the importance of continuing the parliament's activity as one of the main stabilizing factors in sociopolitical life. In order to avoid a vacuum in legislative activity, parliament must continue working right up to the general election and until that time adopt the most important draft laws, including a law on material compensation to families for the rising inflation.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Editor Views Press Law

PM1602151490 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Zsolt Bajnok, chief editor of MAGYAR HIRLAP, by special correspondent A. Kartsev in Budapest under the rubric "And How Are Things With You?": "The Law Is Dead. Long Live the Law!"—date of interview not given; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] In Hungary the Press Law was passed just over three years ago. But now Hungarian parliamentarians are already considering the question of passing a new press law. Zsolt Bajnok, chief editor of MAGYAR HIRLAP, answers the question of why the previous law became obsolete so quickly.

[Bajnok] It is paradoxical that the first Press Law in Hungary's history, passed three years ago, became obsolete even before it became law. It was based on the practices of past years, it did not take account of new trends in the country's development. The law had no future.

[Kartsev] What main changes in Hungary's life made the necessity for a new Press Law obvious?

[Bajnok] One of the main, cornerstone theses on which the Hungarian press based its activity was that the party must direct all the work of journalists. And nobody except the party has the right to engage in ideological, and therefore journalistic, activity. Now this thesis has changed markedly—the party undoubtedly has the right to manage its own press publications, but every party (and there are already several dozen of them in the country today) also has the right to set up its own press organs. Previously in order to organize, say, a new newspaper it was necessary to obtain the authorities' permission. Now the whole question comes down merely to registering a new publication and to various commercial questions.

[Kartsev] This is the third time I have visited Hungary in the last year and a half and even by the assortment of newsstands in the streets I can see what changes are taking place in the Hungarian press. There are many

more pornographic and semipornographic magazines, new newspapers more like pamphlets are sold in underpasses and at crossroads...

[Bajnok] You are right, the number of publications has grown sharply; unfortunately the increase is accounted for to a great extent by publications of a low professional standard, mass publications, as we used to call them previously. They are indeed mainly pornographic magazines and trivial newspapers which print every kind of "sensation" and violate a person's right to personal privacy, and quite often simply vilify him. There are publications of an openly extreme left or radical right persuasion. And from my point of view this is an entirely normal process. Because the reader is turning from these publications to the quality respectable newspapers of restrained political trends, which print only accurate, objective, and most importantly varied information. To publications intended for their own specific regular reader. So the competition that has sprung up on the one hand forces us to work better and on the other gives us new subscribers.

[Kartsev] Have I understood correctly from your words that the Hungarian mass media are now totally independent and free? And the new law must simply consolidate this freedom and set it down in writing?

[Bajnok] The word "independent" is often encountered on newspaper mastheads beside the titles. But one thing I have not seen anywhere is journalists (including ourselves) having the courage to add the words "a totally independent organ." Every newspaper naturally has its own publisher, its own boss, and even with full freedom the newspaper will never go against his interests. Frenchmen often say, wanting to get to the bottom of some phenomenon or other: "Cherchez la femme." I propose a different version: "Cherchez le patron." But I stress that now the freedom to set up a new press organ in Hungary is total. We have no censorship and the only restrictions on information in the press are the bans stipulated by our criminal code applicable to all Hungarian citizens.

[Kartsev] Does it not follow from what you say that the freedom of the press, which now exists "de facto" in Hungary and which the new Press Law will consolidate "de jure," will hinder the processes of democratization of Hungarian society by virtue of its negative consequences?

[Bajnok] I cannot honestly answer with a simple "yes" or "no." On the one hand, at first people are really confused by the large variety of political positions and evaluations of exactly the same occurrences. That is, the political and ideological cleansing of our society is in some respects hampered and slowed down. But on the other hand, it is already clear that this phenomenon is a temporary one.

I will express a contentious idea with which many will perhaps disagree: The amorality of the press in many respects helps to strengthen public morals. Here is an example. One of the major events covered by our press this year was the fuss about the Ministry of Interior's bugging the telephones of private individuals and public organizations not suspected of any lawbreaking. The press presented this fuss as news of the utmost importance and many newspapers completely forgot that other events are taking place in the world. Interest in the sensation was maintained in many respects artificially.

But as a result the public's attention was drawn to an important topic—the activities of the security services and the need to put them under public control. In many Western countries there is special legislation regulating the activities of such services which strictly regulates what may and may not be done. In Hungary we have not had and do not yet have such legislation. But the public's interest in the subject has now been sparked off.

[Kartsev] I have been asking the chief editor of MAGYAR HIRLAP questions about the Hungarian press for quite a long time, but until now I have omitted to ask you to tell our readers about your newspaper.

[Bajnok] All right, that can be easily rectified. So, our newspaper was founded in 1968 and its title translates as "Hungarian Newspaper." We are now the newspaper with the second highest circulation in the country, after NEPSZABADSAG. And our circulation is growing. Three years ago we were publishing 70,000 copies every day, and now it is 100,000 or 110,000. Compared with the huge circulations of Soviet newspapers such figures are of course unimpressive, but believe me for Hungary it is not a bad result at all. Depending on the day of the week MAGYAR HIRLAP has eight, 12, or 16 pages. It has an editorial staff of 80 professional journalists, whose average wage is 17,000 forints a month (at the official exchange rate 19 forints equal one ruble—A.K.).

Hungarian Economist's Claims, Article Refuted

PM1602152590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Interview with T.I. Alibegov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, by B. Rodionov: "'Flight of Fancy.' Eminent Soviet Financier on a Hungarian Weekly's Article"; place, date of interview not specified; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] "Expensive ruble [R]. It has finally become clear where part of the $20 billion which make up Hungary's debt has disappeared." It was under this sensational headline that the new Budapest weekly VILAG carried an interview with Lajos Bokros, executive director of the Hungarian National Bank. If the weekly is to be believed—and its claims are accepted by Bokros, subject to certain reservations—approximately one-third of Hungary's debt is frozen in credits granted in different forms to socialist countries. The USSR allegedly already owes Hungary 10 billion transfer rubles. Does this amount correspond with reality? This was the question IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Rodionov asked of T.I. Alibegov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity.

[Alibegov] All this is flight of fancy. The current balance of reciprocal payments is indeed in Hungary's favor, but the amount is smaller by a whole order of magnitude. At the same time, the effect of the price formation principle applied within the CEMA framework is that Hungary is now making an annual gain of at least R1 billion in trade with the USSR. This is well known to our Hungarian colleagues and is not disputed by them.

[Rodionov] The fact that you are correct is indirectly confirmed by L. Bokros himself. He warns that an early transition to world prices calculated in convertible currency would produce major losses for Hungary (other specialists mention an amount of up to $1.5 per annum). According to Bokros, the USSR could easily sell on other markets the energy sources and raw materials it delivers to Hungary, while the Hungarian textiles or computing equipment being sold in the USSR would hardly be competitive...

[Alibegov] Indeed, we could sell and buy alike with a greater advantage for ourselves. The Soviet Union's relations with East European countries have been for rather too long dominated by the adjective "socialist" rather than by the noun "market." Now both we and our partners are switching from "socialist" division of labor to participation in a proper worldwide division of labor, and therefore to world prices in convertible currency. The Soviet Union will certainly be the first to feel the benefit. But this is by no means the "plunder" of which one occasionally reads in the East European press—it is simply a restoration of normal trading conditions.

[Rodionov] N.I. Ryzhkov proposed a three-year transition period at the CEMA session in Sofia...

[Alibegov] Yes, such a period is necessary in order to prevent certain East European countries finding themselves in a hopeless situation. We have no intention of turning our backs on our traditional partners, of breaking established ties. Come 1 January 1991 we will not shut off the oil and gas pipelines supplying East European countries, nor will we refuse to acquire a certain quantity of industrial goods from Hungary and other East European countries at world prices.

[Rodionov] The weekly's article with which we began our conversation mentioned integration projects like those in Orenburg and Yamburg as dollar-guzzlers. Hungarian industry proved incapable of supplying compressor stations and other equipment for the gas pipelines, they had to be imported...

[Alibegov] Indeed, Hungary did have to spend convertible currency on that occasion. But this is no reason to forget that Hungary has not as yet paid for the Orenburg or Yamburg gas in convertible currency, which means that its savings of such currency are much greater than what it has invested.

[Rodionov] How do you appraise the VILAG weekly's article as a whole?

[Alibegov] Forces which present economic ties with the Soviet Union in a false light have emerged in Hungary. It is distressing that they have been joined by one of the leaders of the Hungarian National Bank, a specialist whom I have always respected for his competence and his role in economic reform. I hope that Mr. Bokros' statement in question is just a disappointing exception.

Reform Seen 'Knocking' on Albania's Door

90UI0362A Moscow TRUD in Russian
10 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by G. Mitkevich: "Albania on the Path of Change"]

[Text] The changes in East Europe of late have been knocking increasingly persistently on Albania's door, forcing certain changes to be made to the customary tenor of the country's social life. Although Tirana is publicly rejecting the restructuring processes in the Soviet Union and the transformations in East European countries, recent plenums of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee have nonetheless examined a whole number of questions of the development of democratic principles in party, state, and social life.

Changes have also affected the activity of Albania's unions, which tomorrow celebrate the 45th anniversary of their formation. They now have approximately 800,000 members (given an Albanian population of just over three million).

A plenum of Albania's General Council of Trade Unions was held in the middle of last December and discussed a broad range of issues pertaining to a stimulation of their activity. These included a search for new forms for the development of democratic principles in the unions, the creation in the work force of an atmosphere of free exchange of opinions, multi-choice elections of leaders of trade union organizations and limitation of the maximum term that they may serve. The plenum stressed the need to intensify the working people's control of management activity, to strengthen discipline and order on the job and to increase exactingness at all levels.

R. Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the People's Assembly Presidium, who addressed the plenum, declared that the country was experiencing a period of upgrading the economic base and the constant democratization of social life and embarking upon a new stage of development. He acknowledged the existence of a number of urgent problems and advocated their solution with regard for Albanian conditions, experience, and traditions. "We Albanians are not rich but we are free and independent," R. Alia emphasized. "We understand that we have much to do because the building of socialism, particularly in the present international situation, is associated with a multitude of difficulties which engender new problems."

Great attention at the plenum was paid to the unions' work on improving the working people's living conditions and the defense of their legitimate interests. At the present time the workers' average wage amounts to 600-700 lek a month, which in terms of purchasing power is the equivalent of approximately R70-80. But even the higher wages of management may not by law be more than double the average earnings of the worker.

Prices of the basic food and industrial commodities in the country remain stable, although a shortage of some of them is being felt in the trade network. Certain foodstuffs such as meat, butter and sheep's milk cheese are rationed. Durables—refrigerators, televisions, washing machines and others—are sold chiefly by means of allocation to enterprises and establishments. There was practically no peasant market in the country until recently.

The unions are advocating increasingly assertively the elimination of wage-leveling in pay and the broadening of material incentives. Extra compensation for the overfulfillment of plan quotas has been introduced in the oil and gas, chromium-mining and a number of other sectors of industry. Last year extra pay for plan overfulfillment was established in motor transport and trade and on the state farms and also for the manufacture of export products over and above the plan. As a result the real per capita income of the urban population grew almost two percent compared with 1988. As of the current year the wages of workers and employees have been made directly dependent on the results of enterprise activity.

Provision of the population with food and industrial goods is improving. At the end of last December the Council of Ministers issued an ordinance on handing over young stock from the sheep and goat herds socialized at the start of the 1980's to the private plots of the cooperativized peasants and state farm workers. Having evaluated the shortage in the cities of vegetables, milk, and meat as a political problem, the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee January Plenum adopted the decision to authorize their sale at peasant markets at controlled prices. The state plan for 1990 also provides for an increase in imports of food and industrial commodities.

A further step toward democratization was the decision of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee January Plenum on worker outfits electing enterprise directors by secret ballot with the right to recall them in the event of their being unfit.

Soviet people have nurtured and continue to nurture feelings of sincere friendship toward the Albanian people. On the 45th anniversary of the formation of Albania's trade unions they send the Albanian working people fraternal greetings and wish them happiness and prosperity and new successes.

Prospects for Reform in Albania Assessed

PM1602150690 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 5, 30 Jan-5 Feb 90 p 13

[Gennadiy Sysoyev dispatch: "Canards in the Land of Mountain Eagles"]

[Text] Belgrade—The word "Albania" has been frequenting newspaper pages during the past few weeks. The press reported demonstrations of protest, clashes in different Albanian cities, a loss of human life and introduction of martial law. Journalists insisted that Albania had been set in motion and changes there were forthcoming. These allegations, however, were firmly denied by official sources in Tirana.

It is difficult to say for sure what is really happening in Albania. First, reports from that country are often contradictory. Second, I have never seen or read any foreign correspondent's report straight from Albania. All reports either offer "second-hand" information or refer to the press of the countries neighbouring to Albania.

It is of course difficult to present an objective picture of the developments without visiting the country as Albania is off limits to foreign journalists. Newsmen who arrive at the Albanian-Yugoslav border checkpoints have to satisfy themselves with the look of Albanian border guards placing their hopes on God and possible changes in Tirana. Journalists' desire to hear of democratic changes in Albania—the country whose name is now often followed by rather unpleasant epithets—is fully understandable. Also understandable is the faith that the wave of changes which has swept Eastern Europe will not pass Tirana. However, such changes can't be spurred by inaccurate information which can always be interpreted as instigation and bring about the effect opposite to the desirable. "Export of revolution" is inadmissible and ineffective—this is commonly recognized now. The same applies to "export of democracy," I believe. In actual fact in the past few weeks Albania has seen neither massive demonstrations nor suppressions of them. And still what's happening in Albania? Changes in Eastern Europe couldn't but affect it too. If not the people, the leaders of the country must be well informed about these changes. And naturally, the leaders understand that the status quo can not be preserved forever. Corrections will have to be made some day. Not only foreign political corrections but also those determined by the internal demands, first and foremost economic ones.

Some shifts are already taking place in the country. Last year Albanian industrial enterprises were granted more independence in planning and production. Initiative and productive labour are being encouraged. Critical articles are now more frequent in the press. The leaders of the country speak of the necessity to rule out parallel activities of party and state bodies and to introduce elections with a choice.

Proposals of changes are as a rule accompanied by obligatory quotations from Enver Hoxha, although it is

difficult to imagine that the deceased Albanian leader could have predicted all this in his time. However, I am not the one to pass judgement, because I read little of Hoxha.

Shifts are under way, but the dialectical law of transformation of quantity into quality doesn't seem to work. In terms of politics this idea can be expressed more concretely. Today it is unrealistic to speak of serious changes in Albania's economic or political system.

There are prerequisites for such changes, however which are determined by a variety of different factors operative in the political scene of Albania. Watchers of Albanian affairs point first of all at the young people (the average age in Albania is 27 years) who are less susceptible to deep-rooted dogmas, although not uninfluenced by the relationships existing in the country.

Others speak of the ethnic minorities factor.

Still others contend that reforms can come from above. All these are but guesswork, however.

As usual in such situations self-styled advisors and prophets are popping up. One of them is "the King of Albania," Leka I who lives in a hide-out in South Africa. "I am sure," he said recently, "that Albanians will speak up for monarchy." This uttering by King Leka was devoid of a shadow of doubt. And still it seems to me that Albanians will hardly justify the hopes of the "king without kingdom."

Seriously speaking, there are grounds to believe that Albania is on the threshold of changes. What changes will these be and when will they come? It is too early to answer this question. For the time being.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Receives Rome Club President

LD2702221290 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received on Tuesday Rome Club President Alexander King who came to the USSR in connection with the meetings of the club executive committee in Moscow.

During the meeting Shevardnadze described Soviet foreign policy efforts to tackle global problems and assessed changes in the USSR and East European countries. He expressed support for the activities of the Rome Club which conducts major social and economic investigations and puts forth interesting initiatives on the environmental control.

The sides exchanged opinions on the United Nations 1992 conference on the environment and development which will define the main areas for international nature protection activities for a long-term period. The USSR suggested that the conference be held at summit level.

Bondarenko Queried on Views on German Unity

90UI0385A Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Feb 90 p 3

[A.P. Bondarenko interview: "The Truth is This"]

[Text] Following the recent visit of FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, the account to the effect that on this occasion Moscow, casting aside any misgivings and conditions, gave the go-ahead for German unification has begun to be disseminated persistently in journalist, and official, circles of the FRG. In this connection our correspondent asked A.P. Bondarenko, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Board, to what extent such claims were in keeping with the actual state of affairs and the results of the negotiations held in Moscow.

The said reports are, to put it mildly, somewhat one-sided. Of course, West German politicians were not received in Moscow that they might simply be informed that the Soviet Union had no objections in principle to the unification of the two German states if such is the ultimate choice of Germans in the GDR and the FRG.

In the course of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl and also between E.A. Shevardnadze and H.-D. Genscher, there was a serious and wide-ranging discussion on the most important aspects of German problems. In fact, the question of German unity had been examined comprehensively even earlier, namely, at M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and then even it was said that the Germans themselves must determine the kind of state forms in which they would live henceforward. This was reaffirmed to Chancellor H. Kohl also. But at the same time it was emphasized that the German question was soluble only in the context of all-European development with regard for the security and interests both of the FRG's neighbors and other European states and peace and the preservation of stability on the continent.

For perfectly understandable reasons, the question of the need for observance of the Soviet Union's security interests also was posed firmly on our part. No one in our country has forgotten the lessons of WWII. This is why the particular attention of our West German partners was called to the fact that the nucleus of the German problem was and remains the military component, which plays a decisive part in determination of the European and world balance of forces.

In other words, it is important to concern ourselves with ensuring that the threat of a new war not emanate from German soil, that the postwar borders be truly inviolable and that German territory not be used by outside forces. The fact that a united German state cannot be created under the NATO roof was pointed out with all certainty in this context.

Thus merely the list of issues raised by the Soviet side shows how far the Soviet Union's true position differs from the way in which some people are attempting to portray it currently in the FRG.

Considering the complexity of the whole set of German problems and their importance for the future of Europe and the world as a whole, it was agreed to act henceforward with great responsibility and circumspection and to maintain regular contacts on all questions which arise and at all levels, the top leadership on both sides included.

Literally in recent days, a further major step was taken in the direction of solutions in connection with a German settlement being found which might take account of the whole diversity of this set of problems and its external aspects, primarily questions of the security of neighboring states. We refer to the agreement reached by Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze with the foreign ministers of the two German states, France, Great Britain, and the United States in the course of their recent contacts in Ottawa.

The decision to hold meetings within the framework of the "Six" at foreign minister level and also on preliminary discussion of the above-mentioned set of problems creates the necessary mechanism for ensuring the normal development of the situation in German affairs and due consideration of the positions and approaches of all the states concerned.

Thatcher Remarks on Gorbachev, Germany Reported

LD2502103890 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] London February 25 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's policies will bring the Soviet Union greater prosperity and importance than ever before, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said in an interview with the SUNDAY TIMES newspaper. She touched upon many aspects of the home and foreign policies of the British Government.

Having expressed confidence that the Soviet leader would successfully cope with all the difficulties that stand in the way of democratic transformations in the Soviet Union, Thatcher cautioned against attempts at speeding up the process of perestroika, considering the complexity of problems that the country has to tackle.

She voiced hope that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Gorbachev who seeks to transfer more initiative and power into the hands of the people, would become a fully democratic country.

Setting out her stand on German reunification, Thatcher said the British Government's desire to ensure the elaboration of a proper framework for German unity was fully justified.

She said the interests of NATO and the four governing powers in Berlin (the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain) could not be ignored, just as one could not ignore the history of this century.

Upholding the economic policy of the ruling Cabinet of Ministers, Thatcher pointed out the need to maintain bank lending rates at a high level to curb inflationary processes in the country.

Having pointed to certain difficulties, including 7.7 per cent inflation, price rise, high mortgage repayments for home owners, Thatcher at the same time disproved the view, widely held among a certain proportion of members of Parliament, that the country's economy entered a period of recession.

About the British economy, she said that "it is like a big battleship. The faster it goes, the longer it takes to slow down and turn around."

USSR, UK Confer on Inter-German Relations

PM2302103590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general headline: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, on 20 February received P. Craddock, special adviser on foreign policy to Britain's prime minister. The conversation touched on topical European problems, primarily questions connected with German-German relations.

R. Braithwaite, British ambassador to the USSR, attended the meeting.

UK Publisher Maxwell, PRAVDA's Frolov Meet

PM2202165590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by V. Drobkov: "Guest of PRAVDA"]

[Text] On 15 February the well-known British publisher R. Maxwell visited the PRAVDA editorial offices, where he had a conversation with I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA. V.P. Leontyev, director of the CPSU Central Committee PRAVDA publishing house, and N.N. Chetverikov, chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency Board, participated in the conversation. There was a discussion of the potential for cooperation between the "Maxwell Communications" publishing firm and PRAVDA editorial board and publishing house.

In your opinion, what are the prospects for collaboration between the "Maxwell" firm and PRAVDA, and what might be the main areas of cooperation? I put this question to the guest immediately after the conversation.

[Maxwell] Our publishing firm, which is one of the biggest in the world, is keen to develop relations with your paper and with the PRAVDA publishing house.

Because PRAVDA is widely known as the most celebrated newspaper in the USSR and because M.S. Gorbachev's desire to make Europe a common home, in which the windows and doors are wide open, provides great opportunities for different peoples to get acquainted. We are willing to exchange articles by well-known commentators, photographs, and to cooperate in the information technology sphere.

[Drobkov] Does this mean, in seeking cooperation, your firm is not pursuing commercial interests exclusively?

[Maxwell] Definitely not! We are seeking to improve mutual understanding between Europeans. By exchanging information and using items from PRAVDA, we will be able to give our readers a fuller picture of what is happening in the USSR and tell your readers, through our materials, about events abroad. In recent years in Western Europe, there has been a massive increase in interest in the Soviet Union, in the changes taking place there. Perestroyka, glasnost, and the CPSU's declared readiness to renounce its power monopoly definitely are increasing the opportunities for cooperation in all areas and, at the same time, increasing our readers' desire to obtain more and more objective information from your country. That is why we have visited PRAVDA and have had a very serious, practical discussion. We want to bring our peoples closer together and help Europe become united, peaceful and prosperous.

TASS Notes Modernization of BBC Monitoring

LD2602131590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1150 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] London, 16 Feb (TASS)—The British television and radio broadcasting corporation, BBC, will assimilate new equipment costing around 13 million pounds sterling, enabling this organization, which is financed out of the state budget, to carry out efficient monitoring of radio broadcasts in approximately 38 languages from all around the world. According to official reprsentatives of the corporation here, this sum has been set aside for a specialized computer system designed to handle texts. Around 300 specialists are to be trained to use it. In the opinion of BBC management this step marks a "new era" for their company in gathering and processing information from around the world.

The BBC, which has been listening to foreign radio broadcasts since World War II, has recently been faced with increasing demands to provide uninterrupted immediate information about the turbulent events in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The corporation now translates radio broadcasts from 38 world languages lasting for a total of 500 hours every day.

In the opinion of John Tusa, managing director BBC External Services, these innovations will make it possible to guarantee the gathering of news broadcast by television, radio, and new agencies to increase the flexibility of the process for selling it to the widest range of subscribers.

Soviet-Netherlands Cooperation Session Ends

LD2302215990 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—The eleventh session of the mixed Soviet-Netherlands commission for cooperation in the economy, industry and technology decided that new working groups, on financial matters and construction, should be formed. The session ended here today.

The participants in the session believe that the widening of cooperation of Soviet organisations and Dutch firms will be beneficial for the development and deepening of economic, scientific and technological relations between the two countries.

In the protocol signed on the basis of the session's results, the sides expressed satisfaction with the increase of mutual trade turnover last year as compared with 1988, the growth of the exchange of licences, and widening of industrial cooperation, including cooperation in production and setting up of joint ventures.

Participants in the session emphasised the importance of the development of scientific and technological ties in machine-building, the light and food industries, the chemical industry, health services and the agro-industrial complex. They emphasised the need to continue to develop such ties.

Participants in the session also noted the positive results of cooperation in electronics, nuclear power, the creation of new materials, biotechnology, comprehensive automation of production and others.

The session discussed the possibilities for cooperation in training and upgrading the skills of managers in the economic area. The sides exchanged specific proposals about forms and methods of this cooperation.

The next session of the mixed commisson is to be held in the Netherlands in the first six months of 1991.

Agriculture Talks With Netherlands Begin

LD2602151590 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—The state commission of the USSR Council of Ministers on food and purchases and the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries began talks here today.

They are discussing a proposal by the Dutch side on cooperation between the two countries to develop family farms in several areas of the Russian Federation on the basis of experience and technology used in the Netherlands.

The sides are expected to sign a document on the introduction of integrated infrastructure to set up vegetable-growing, fodder-producing, greenhouse, dairy and other family farms which would help boost agricultural produce in these areas.

Latin America & Caribbean

Reportage on Nicaragua's Presidential Elections

Chamorro Delivers Victory Address

LD2802113490 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 28 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondents Yuri Dmitriyev, Igor Pshenichnikov, and Aleksander Trushin]

[Text] Managua February 28 TASS—Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, victorious presidential candidate of the United National Opposition (UNO), addressed the nation on Tuesday. She said the supreme election council officially informed her on Tuesday that UNO had won the general elections.

"President Daniel Ortega called me," De Chamorro said, "to inform me that the Sandinista National Liberation Front recognised the sovereign will of the Nicaraguan people, expressed during the February 25 elections."

"I accept this noble step of Daniel Ortega," the president-elect stressed, "and wish, for my part, to confirm my commitment to respect the will of the minority—40 per cent of the Nicaraguan people, who have cast their ballots for the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

Chamorro reaffirmed her promise to achieve national reconciliation in Nicaragua. She said a general amnesty would be the new government's first step towards this end.

"I believe the Sandinista Front, as the country's second political force, will assume a responsible and constructive stand as regards the national interests of restoring the homeland," she said.

Chamorro noted that she won the support of the majority of the Nicaraguan people who wanted peace, national reconciliation and economic rehabilitation. In order to achieve this, all Nicaraguans must go back to peaceful life and build a democratic Nicaragua through joint efforts, she said.

Chamorro pointed to the importance of carrying out the agreements concluded by Central American presidents in Tela. They call the "National Resistance" to demobilise immediately and repatriate under the supervision of the international support and supervision commission. There are no more reasons for war in Nicaragua. There is no sense in starting new wars. Therefore, those that have taken up arms must lay them down and go back to Nicaragua together with their families in order to work for the country's welfare, she stressed.

It is everybody's patriotic duty to embark upon the road of consolidating peace and democracy in Nicaragua. "We have put an end to the sinister tradition of our history when governments were replaced by means of bullets and not free elections," Chamorro said. "I hope," she noted, "that April 25, the day when power is to be transferred to us, will be the first case in Nicaragua's history that a government will be replaced peacefully. I will exert every effort to carry out the UNO programme, which is a programme of national salvation, reconciliation, and not revenge."

"It is fair to thank President Daniel Ortega for allowing free elections in Nicaragua and inviting an unprecedented number of international observers to the country, and also for agreeing with the sovereign will of the people and for recognising UNO's victory."

"All Central America has won these elections, because all Central American nations will be able to live in greater tranquillity after this step towards peace in Nicaragua. I will exert every effort to promote the economic, political and cultural integration of the region. The successful Nicaraguan elections have contributed to world peace," Chamorro stressed.

"Our country has joined the powerful wave of democratic reforms sweeping our planet," Chamorro said.

'No Ground To Doubt' Result

LD2702115790 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 27 Feb 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—"During the election campaign, the Soviet side repeatedly said it would recognise the election results if the ballot were fair and democratic," a senior Soviet diplomat told TASS, commenting on the victory of opposition leader Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua.

"This was stated in a joint statement issued by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and United States Secretary of State James Baker after their talks in Moscow in February," Yuri Pavlov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Latin American Department, said.

Since no one doubts that the people of Nicaragua were given a chance to freely express their will, there is no ground to doubt the opposition's victory in Nicaragua, the Soviet diplomat said.

The Soviet side believes that the Sandinista leadership should be credited with ensuring that the elections were free and democratic.

The United States admitted this when it publicly praised the role of the Sandinista leadership in holding the election.

"The elections in Nicaragua will be a major milestone on the road to a peaceful settlement in Central America," Pavlov said.

IZVESTIYA Recaps Election Events

PM2702192790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Yevgeniy Bay in Managua and M. Kozhukhov in Moscow under the "Panorama of International Events" rubric: "Sandinistas Move into Opposition"]

[Text] The chairman of Nicaragua's Supreme Electoral Council read out the final results of Sunday's elections 26 February. The National Opposition Union (UNO) was victorious, winning 55.2 percent of the votes. The Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] received 40.8 percent of the votes. Opposition candidates 60-year old Violeta de Chamorro and 55-year old Virgilio Godoy have been elected president and vice president of Nicaragua respectively.

Throughout the night from Sunday through Monday, the Sandinist television channel broadcast American entertainment shows interspersed with musical videos. Soon after 0700 hours, as was previously announced, an entertainment program was interrupted, making way for an emergency announcement by Daniel Ortega.

The republic's president addressed his compatriots, surrounded by close comrades in arms, looking utterly weary and appearing to have aged several years overnight. He said that for 10 years FSLN policy had been designed to ensure democracy and national dignity in Nicaragua. Acknowledging the election results, he urged Nicaraguans in a symbolic emotional farewell to proceed along the path that was opened up in July 1979 when columns of insurgents who had overthrown the Somoza regime made their triumphant entrance into Managua.

The general election results shocked the authorities. Everything indicates that even the UNO leaders did not expect such a substantial gulf between the Sandinists and the opposition. Without attempting to explain all the reasons for the Sandinists' defeat now, let us note just one thing—the most important thing. In voting for the opposition, most Nicaraguans were voicing a protest against poverty and the lack of all commodities in the country, the long lines, the lack of visible prospects of an improvement in living conditions, and ideological phrasemongering. The Sandinists sensed the mass discontent that had built up among the people and did their utmost to try to prevent a social explosion. Wait, they told their compatriots: Peace is about to come to our land and everything will be better. However, they clearly underestimated the limits of people's patience...

The unexpected Nicaraguan election results were a sensation for both the New and the Old Worlds. "Democracy has won another victory," G. Bush said on Monday, welcoming both the opposition's success and the Sandinists' willingness to respect the results of the vote. The U.S. President called for an immediate cease-fire in Nicaragua, noting that the opposing sides now have no reason to continue the war. The lifting of U.S. economic sanctions against this state, which have been in force since 1985, will be the subject of discussion in the very near future, a statement issued by White House Press Secretary M. Fitzwater emphasized. U.S. congressional leaders have also virtually unanimously advocated granting economic aid to Nicaragua.

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar welcomed the "political maturity" of the Sandinists, who ensured the clean nature of the election process. "God bless Violeta," REUTER cited Panamanian Vice President G. Ford's words. "The Nicaraguan election results are comparable with what happened in Czechoslovakia," is the opinion of Costa Rica's foreign minister. Mexico, Spain, Portugal, Britain, Sweden, and Norway have already stated their willingness to cooperate and offer the new Nicaraguan government economic support.

Who are the new leaders of Nicaragua to whom power will be transferred 25 April, exactly two months after the elections?

Violeta Barrios de Chamorro loves to say of herself that she is "not a politician but a symbol." The widow of prominent Nicaraguan journalist and liberal politician Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, who was killed in the time of the Somoza dictatorship, she has continued her husband's cause, rallying confederates around her in the struggle to oppose what she considered to be an authoritarian regime. Immediately after the victory of the revolution, Dona Violeta entered the five-member Provisional Government, but 10 months later she broke with the Sandinists, believing that they had betrayed the ideals of the revolution. Ignorance of certain political realities and the tendency to forget the names of important foreigners, which sometimes led to extraordinary incidents, did not prevent her from winning a reputation among the people as a leader capable of improving the position of ordinary Nicaraguans. "I am a housewife," Violeta de Chamorro said. "But what of it? Without being a politician or a journalist, I learned to direct LA PRENSA (the opposition newspaper, of which she has been editor in chief throughout the years since her husband's death)."

V. Godoy, Nicaragua's new vice president and leader of the relatively influential Independent Liberal Party, was involved in the 1984 election campaign. He played an active role in creating the opposition parties' bloc, which set about forming a kind of civil opposition union to counter U.S. attempts to resolve the Nicaraguan problem by military means. To this end UNO combined within its ranks the most diverse, even diametrically opposed parties ideologically. For instance, it includes conservative, liberal, and social democratic groupings, along with Nicaragua's Democratic and Socialist Parties.

Will the union created in the interests of the elections be able to preserve its unity after it takes office? This question is a highly important one which will also determine the future government's viability, especially since the Sandinist Front is now the largest opposition party.

The UNO program as a whole is bourgeois-liberal, and opposed to many of the positions in the Sandinist platform. Its most important aims are the utmost stimulation of the private sector, a sharp reduction in the state's role in economic activity, the restriction of presidential powers, and a struggle against corruption and incompetence in the party apparatus. The program envisages 17 constitutional reforms aimed at providing greater democracy in the country, abolishes compulsory military service, and radically changes the structure of the army and sharply reduces its size.

In its foreign policy, Nicaragua will adhere to the principles of nonalignment, it will develop relations with all states on the basis of noninterference and mutual respect, and it will back the political settlement of regional conflicts.

Not long before the Soviet-American summit meeting off Malta, V. Barrios de Chamorro sent a message to M.S. Gorbachev appealing to the Soviet leader to use all his political prestige to ensure that the Nicaraguan electoral process survived. The letter contains a plea to the Soviet Union to participate in the economic renewal of Nicaragua, promote national conciliation in the country, and support efforts to try to end foreign supplies of weapons to Nicaragua.

At the moment experts are agreed that the transitional period in Nicaragua will not be easy and that V. Chamorro is faced with the task of leading the country through a "minefield" of problems.

One of them, for example, is that the armed forces are completely loyal to the FSLN. Agencies are citing the words of Interior Minster Tomas Borge in this connection; he stated that the Army is unlikely to carry out an order if it does not come from the current Defense Minister Umberto Ortega, while the Interior Ministry units will not carry out an order unless it bears his signature. At the same time the Contras' military leaders, whose headquarters are located in Honduras, have already made a statement that they will not lay down their arms until the new Nicaraguan Government assumes absolute power—including military power.

"There will be no victors and no vanquished in Nicaragua. We can only achieve peace and prosperity through national conciliation," UNO leader Violeta Barrios de Chamorro says in answer to these apprehensions.

"We pride ourselves on the fact that in this unjust world we were able to win even a little dignity, democracy, and social justice,"—these are Daniel Ortega's words as the Sandinist Front leaves the seat of power.

Talks Held on 'Transferring Power'

LD2802071590 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 28 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Dmitriyev, Igor Pshenichnikov and Aleksandr Trushin]

[Text] Managua February 28 TASS—The Nicaraguan Opposition Alliance, winner of Sunday's elections in Nicaragua, and the Sandinista National Liberation Front opened talks on Tuesday on transferring power to the Alliance, an Alliance communique said.

The sides to the talks are led by member of the Sandinista leadership, Defence Minister Humberto Ortega and Alliance election campaign manager Antonio Lacayo.

The first round of the talks was held in the presence of the United Nations secretary-general's personal envoy Elliot Richardson, General Secretary of the Organisation of American States Joan Baena Soares and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. The negotiations will continue on Wednesday, the communique said.

Luis Sanchez, member of the Opposition Alliance's Political Council, told TASS that "Sandinista participation in the would-be government is possible, but not obligatory."

"If we come to terms with the Sandinistas and they will not impair the freedom of taking decisions by the Alliance's government, they will possibly be able to enter it."

"In the Opposition Alliance's Political Council there are forces that oppose any Sandinista participation in the new government," Sanchez said. They may prevent reaching an agreement with the Sandinistas.

"But," he notes, "the Sandinistas are a mighty political force that cannot but be heeded. The future of the Army and the Interior Ministry will be one of the most important and difficult issues during the negotiations between the Opposition Alliance and the Sandinistas."

"After the general elections the alignment of forces in the new parliament will not enable the Opposition Alliance to introduce any changes in the Constitution without the consent of the Sandinista deputies," Rafael Solis, secretary of the National Assembly, told journalists on Tuesday.

"The introduction of changes to the Constitution will require the approval of at least 60 per cent of parliamentarians, or 55 deputies. But the maximum number of seats the Opposition Alliance can count on after the final count in all constituencies of the country will not exceed 52," Solis said.

"The new parliament's opposition will be made up of Sandinista deputies and one deputy from the Social Christian Bloc. The Opposition Alliance will not be able to carry out its programme without reform of the basic law, involving the banking system, foreign trade and military service," Solis said.

Sandinists Discuss Defeat at Meeting

LD2802074690 Moscow TASS in English 0726 GMT 28 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Dmitriyev, Igor Pshenichnikov and Aleksandr Trushin]

[Text] Managua Feburary 28 TASS—The Sandinista leadership and its activists met here on Tuesday to discuss the defeat in Sunday's Nicaraguan elections and their future.

President Daniel Ortega read out the meeting's resolution at a mass rally of supporters.

The resolution said that the Sandinistas for the first time granted people the right to express their will in free, just and honest elections, which is a gain of the revolution.

Being a revolutionary and Nicaragua's largest, most organised and united party, the Sandinistas ought to guarantee the continuation of the revolutionary process and preserve all achievements and transformations in political, social and economic spheres.

The change of government will not signify the termination of the revolution, the document stressed. The Sandinistas will go on fighting for the preservation of the agrarian reform and against reshaping land plots and the abolition of social guarantees, especially for mothers, whose sons died for the revolution, orphans and war invalids.

The Sandinistas demand that the contras be immediately disbanded and Nicaraguans, who were kidnapped by them, be freed in order to carry out a peaceful and well-organised change of government.

In accordance with the Nicaraguan Constitution, the Sandinistas will protect the integrity and professionalism of the Sandinista Army and the Interior Ministry.

The Front will also defend the nationalisation of banks, foreign trade and natural resources, and public property.

The Sandinistas will see to it that none of the constitutional guarantees is abandoned, including the right to establish trade unions, to strike, as well as freedom of assembly and press.

The Sandinistas will fight for the preservation of the constitutional provision that prohibits the dismissal of civil servants. This provision was adopted on the proposal of opposition parties.

Ortega said that although the Sandinistas will become the opposition, the country will still be governed by the people themselves.

Supreme Soviet Session

Lukyanov Chairs 28 Feb Supreme Soviet Session

LD2802075390 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 28 Feb 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The Soviet parliament today resumed discussion of a controversial land bill at a joint session of both chambers.

The first and second readings of the bill have already taken place. Today it is expected to be put to the vote.

The morning session is being chaired by USSR Supreme Soviet Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Stresses Working 'Punctually'

LD2802101790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov is in the chair at today's joint sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers. He announced that many deputies have expressed the wish to spend two or three days in their constituencies meeting the people before the elections to republican and local soviets; therefore it will be necessary today and tomorrow to work punctually and energetically to adopt the law on land, to continue in closed session the discussion of, and adopt a decision on, the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and tomorrow, probably, to continue the debate on the document on presidential powers.

Voting Begins on Land Bill 28 Feb

LD2802105190 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 28 Feb 90

[By TASS Parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—A joint session of both chambers of the Soviet Parliament today began voting on the bill on land.

This bill is a major legal document of Soviet economic reform. The bill enables land plots to become hereditary property, thus, allowing farmers to chose between a collective and a private farm.

During the second reading of the bill between February 16 and 20, the majority of speakers supported its main provisions and made about 150 proposals and remarks, which were taken into account when finishing the document.

The amended bill was submitted to deputies today by President of the All-Union Agricultural Academy Aleksandr Nikonov.

The deputies are now voting for each separate article. The voting is exected to last for several hours.

Law on Land Adopted

LD2802115590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Over to the correspondents' center in the Kremlin. Andrey Nikoforov is at the microphone.

[Nikiforov] Good day, esteemed comrades. I am glad to tell you that literally 15 minutes ago, the foundations for the legislation of the USSR and union republics on land were adopted, as a result of votes held for each chamber.

Gorbachev Speaks on Presidency Debate 27 Feb

LD2702231590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Speech by Soviet Leader Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev summarizing the debate at the Supreme Soviet on the proposal for a USSR presidency, at the 27 February Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] I think that perhaps as at no other meeting, we have come up against a well-considered and coordinated viewpoint of a large group of people's deputies belonging to the Interregional Group of deputies. [commotion in hall]

I will express my appraisal. They have also spoken in favor of a presidency, but making this conditional on such qualifications and approaches, and in such comely packaging, in order at least to slow down if not to bury this process.

That is, in general, we are seeing that the demarcation which we have observed in society in recent times—despite all the appeals for consolidation along the lines of perestroyka and the goals of perestroyka—is proceeding. It is felt in the party, in the Central Committee, and today it manifests itself in a more pronounced manner here among us in the Supreme Soviet, too.

What is this? A tragedy? I think that it is reality. Here we have to shape and take up our position, to make a choice, and to determine which position we support. That, properly speaking, is where we are. We don't have to leave and play cat and mouse in the dark. Take positions openly. Make a choice.

For this reason unanimity is merely specious, it does not actually exist. Here we have come up against a very serious opposition in the form of the representatives, a substantial group of representatives—not the whole Interregional Group—I know many comrades, I am in contact with practically all of them to some extent, but nevertheless, that is what we have discovered at this meeting.

So, we have to make a choice, and in order to make this choice, I, in turn, would like to speak, albeit briefly, on this fundamental matter.

I am aware, as are all speakers, that today, we are discussing one of the cardinal issues in the development of the processes of perestroyka, and if people here want to raise with us the theme that somebody is being hasty, as Comrade Boldyrev, and not he alone, suggests directly, but this is also already known to me, the position of theirs, of that part of our people's deputies, that everything is being arranged to Gorbachev's tune, then, in general, this is not serious. It is cheap demagoguery, I can evaluate it only as that. [commotion in hall, some clapping, faint calls of "that's right"]

That's not necessary, let's think about this.

Those who only three or four weeks or a couple of months ago were shouting at the top of their voices calling for a president, today want to suggest that the introduction of the institution of a presidency is the path of dictatorship, it means strangling democracy and perestroyka and so on, burying it. They want to frighten the people and as a result of this situation to create an atmosphere such as they tried to create for the 25th [February]. I don't know who it was who tried hardest to create it—and, they say, to introduce this self-same authoritarian power. These, comrades, are far-reaching political designs. If society, the whole of society, all the sensible people in our society, in all the republics, feels that the situation is such that we cannot but respond to it.... [changes thought] There are two aspects here. We have gone down a certain road where a new system of the supreme organs of power was functioning, and we perceived that not everything here was working, and that we are losing a great deal because things are not working properly. Well, Comrade Stankevich, it is true, wonders straightaway whether this is due to the institutions or to the team which is doing the work. These are all blows aimed at the same target, coordinated and purposeful blows. We are dealing with an opposition which has been formed. [shouts from audience] But I... I can hear everything, comrades... one moment, calm down, calm down. Calm down! Whatever I feel needs to be said, I shall say it, no matter what. It is your own affair, you will make your choice, you will define your position. But I must say, everything is too serious to obfuscate big issues here, very serious issues.

Fundamentally, life has brought us to a point where we have to carry out a thorough regrouping of forces in the upper echelon, alongside what we are doing within the framework of the second stage of the political reform. We are placing powers on a new level, and we are forming a new corps of deputies both in the republics and in the local areas, and so we need here, too, in the center, to strengthen the executive mechanism to ensure that both the policy and the laws operate and actually produce results.

That the situation is tense today is merely an additional argument that this has to be done without delay. Indeed we all know—and, incidentally, here representatives of all currents, both of public opinion in the Supreme Soviet, and in the political process, are of the same view—that we are able to count on having not years but months and this means that we have to act. So why is it then that we, recognizing that one has to act now and tackle problems in a fundamental manner to defend restructuring, and all the processes which have unfolded, and with regard to current events, to defuse the situation and to reduce the social-economic, political and interethnic tension in society, why should we postpone the resolution of such important issues instead of making use of the opportunity, by making the necessary decisions without delay and acting? It's incomprehensible.

Only he who does not want the situation to change for the better can act in that way. They want to convince the people that the thing is that the leadership of the country today is incapable, and that that is where the trouble lies; and to sow mistrust. One hears here that Gorbachev's authority is falling and so forth. What has this got to do with Gorbachev? What has this got to do with his authority when what is at issue is presidential power and constitutional changes, and the resolution of this matter will take place on a multicandidate basis. I have already spoken about this. What has Gorbachev got to do with it?

We have to resolve this matter.

It is life which has brought us to this stage and absolutely nothing else. Sometimes a really wild idea comes into my head, that even if I were....[changes thought] In order to prove that it is not being tailored to some particular purpose and to fit a specific individual, but that it is necessary for the country and for perestroyka that we should change things, sometimes it comes into my head that even if I were to be nominated as a candidate, I would go as far as withdrawing my nomination. [voices heard from audience] I tell you, this is a wild idea, so to speak, because [commotion in audience] Don't worry, it is a wild idea in the sense that anyone in my position would not refuse if he were proposed. It would be cowardice to leave at such a time. All the more so in my position, for me to give in, so to speak, to what is resounding from every rostrum now. That is just what people want—to derail the present leadership. And that will not succeed, that is banking on people with weak nerves.

Therefore, I am in favor of settling the issue of introducing the institution of the presidency. That is essential for the country. To continue the process of perestroyka, to move forward and speed up reforms, to defend democracy, to promote effectively the revolutionary transformations of our federation, without which perestroyka will not succeed, and for everything else, and taking into account the fact that we are actually moving toward a process of increasing pluralism, not just of opinions, but also political pluralism—all of this dictates the fundamental need to introduce this post of the presidency.

That is the first thing. I have already spoken about the timescale. Some people are hoping for something in

particular, another month or two, we'll rock the boat a bit, they say, that they will make the crew sick and give rise to dissatisfaction among the people, and thereby, so to speak, we shall realize our plans. But we, too, should be aware of this. Therefore, we should not allow these plans to be implemented which people want to achieve even at the cost of shattering society and increasing instability, discrediting the policy of perestroyka and those who are currently carrying it out.

Therefore, we must act without delay. I am in favor of supporting these deputies who propose convening a Congress of People's Deputies as early as the beginning of March and resolving this matter.

There has been discussion here—and Comrade Sobchak, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, was the first to set out this idea as I understand him—why, properly speaking, should we undertake this marathon and this whole free-for-all again and waste time in discussions as he put it.

Let us transform the post of chairman, and the post of president, and give additional powers to this transformed chairman. Comrade Matviyenko gave the grounds for this idea more clearly today, though she did not expand on the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—and decide matters in this way, by giving powers.

Comrades, I think this would be incorrect. This is why. Even in these conditions when we go in for convening the congress, approaching the formation on the basis of having a choice of candidates, there will be people—we already know them, we could draw up a list of them already—who will attempt to profit from it and unleash demagogy, saying that in the situation we had failed to secure the suport of or consult the people and so on and so forth. As if the USSR people's deputies who had just been elected by the people were not empowered to represent the people.

What is there to say? Listen, voices have been heard at rallies these past several... [changes thought] two or three weeks, that the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet and so on should be dissolved. There are already a lot of people who do not find them to their liking.

A political struggle is a political struggle; one must dot one's i's as they say. Therefore, I would ask the comrades to withdraw this proposal, starting with Comrade Sobchak and others who express this proposal. We must go in for a congress, we must go in for an approach with a choice of candidates, discuss everything carefully, and by secret ballot, at the congress—it has these powers—decide all the questions, all the questions.

[The "Vremya" announcer adds: "By a majority in roll-call vote, the session supported the proposal of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the establishment of the post of president of the USSR and the inclusion of appropriate amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution. The draft law submitted was passed by deputies as a basis. The Supreme Soviet instructed its standing bodies to work it up within a week, taking account of the discussion which had taken place, and to submit it to the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies which it was decided to convene on 12-13 March."]

Moscow TV Carries 27 Feb Supreme Soviet Session

Gorbachev Chairs Session

LD2702165290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 27 February begins carrying a recording of the joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 27 February at the Kremlin in Mosocw. The session is chaired by M.S. Gorbachev.

The session opens and the deputies take their seats and register 415 deputies are present. Gorbachev announces the session open and announces the topic—namely discussion on the draft law on instituting the post of president in the USSR. The Presidium has recommended that this law be adopted and sent to the Congress of People's Deputies for ratification, Gorbachev says. He calls on Kudryavtsev vice president of the Academy of Sciences, to speak.

At 1603 GMT Kudryavtsev takes the floor. He begins by setting out the motives for the law. There has been much talk in the press and among the public about the idea of the post of president. He explains the points on which the working group which drafted the law concentrated. He selects three main aspects: The delimination of state and party functions; the separation of power and division of legislative, executive, and judiciary powers; and the need to have the situation stabilized. He points out that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet barely copes with all his functions. He calls for an independent post of head of state. He looks at the functions of head of state in other countries. The president represents the unity of the country and should stand above party organizations, he says. There should be measures to ensure no abuses of presidential power. A president's powers and functions should be clearly defined, says Kudryavtsev

Kudryavtsev says the working group has decided that for the first time, the president could be elected by the congress for four years. He continues to outline the president's functions. The president would gain the powers of the chairman of Supreme Soviet and some of the Presidium's functions. Two new functions would be given to the president: He would sign laws and would have the right to return adopted laws for a second vote. In the case of disagreements between the two parliamentary chambers, and if the normal work is threatened, the president could call for a new composition. The president would have no powers with regard to the Congress of People's Deputies.

With regard to the government, Kudryavtsev outlines the powers and functions of the president. He could only

make a proposal to the congress on the resignation of the head of government. The chairman of the Council of Ministers would be a member of the president's council, he says.

At 1620 GMT Kudryavtsev says that there should be control over the president. The president is elected by the congress and if he violates the Constitution, he can be removed. The Committee for the Supervision of the Constitution is another form of control over the president and his decrees. Any deputy can make an inquiry of the president. Kudryavtsev agrees that the draft needs much discussion. He concludes his report and then reads out a question about the procedure for the nationwide election of the president. He says that it has been decided not to have a nationwide election at the moment, because of the lack of preparation and the urgency of the matter. The congress would elect the president for the moment, if this was decided to be correct. He then responds to a question about the correlation between the slogan of all power to the soviets and the institution of the post of president. Kudryavtsev concludes at 1625 GMT.

Presidential Debate Begins

LD2702174590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 27 February at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1626 GMT Gorbachev asks how long deputies should be allowed to speak. They decide on 5 minutes.

AT 1627 GMT Revenko speaks about the crisis and general depression caused by shortages, unlawful acts. He says that people are afraid for their lives and the parliament has no right to ignore this fact. He criticizes the naivete of some legislation that has been adopted such as the anti-alcohol campaign, and the powerlessness of judiciary and legislative bodies in the face of the interethnic crisis. In his view, the congress and Supreme Soviet have become clumsy and awkward and seem to double up on some functions, wasting time. He says a president is needed badly and agrees with Kudryavtsev that the functions of head of state, legislative bodies and government should be separated. There should now be discussion of who should become president. Except for the first time, he believes the president should be elected by the people.

At 1635 GMT Ubaydullayeva says she is from Tashkent. She has been asked by the women of her city to explain to parliament that they are sick of the tension and interethnic crisis and want a president with the powers to impose order. She says there should be an age limit as well as a minimum age for the post of president. She proposes that the post of president be instituted as soon as possible.

At 1639 GMT Stankevich thanks deputies and says this is a vitally important issue. He says that the fatal shortages in the Soviet Union are obvious and he blames the continued existence of the nomenklatura. He cites events recently in Tyumen Oblast, the ANT scandal. He also blames the lack of executive power in the USSR. A presidency is one of the most effective forms of executive power, but the draft law under discussion is too simplified and requires substantial reworking to eradicate contradictions. He points out that decisions made by the Supreme Soviet Presidium jointly, will now be made by one person. Thus, the views of union republics may not be taken into consideration as well. This needs to be looked at. Stankevich wonders how relationships between government and president will be established and organized. Gorbachev reminds him he has spoken for seven minutes. He asserts that the president should sign all laws. He points out the dubious nature of adopting a draft which does not explain precisely what a military situation is. On the issue of the president's removal from power, he asserts that it should be possible to remove the president for abuse of power or incapability of carrying out functions. He makes other suggestions on various clauses. Despite the urgent need for executive power we should not rush into adopting this law.

At 1649 GMT Velikhov supports the need for the post of president. As a member of the Committee on Defense and State Security, he points out the need to ensure defense and state security in the present situation. On the economy, he says events are developing fast, shortages are increasing. The Soviet Union has to get properly into the world market and this requires the development of the economy and, of course, agriculture. We need the confidence of other countries in order to develop the country. He calls for the congress to be convened in early March.

At 1655 GMT Arutyunyan [first secretary of Armenian Communist Party] says that the whole of the country is in crisis, not just those regions which have recently exploded. In this situation we need a supreme power. This matter should not be delayed. In the cases of violence, it is not the army that has arrived late, it is power. A president could become a social stabilizer. People are beginning to ask what is the point of lengthy parliamentary debates if they have no effect on the situation in the country. The presidential veto would have a stabilizing effect on the situation. He asks who should take responsibility for border violations and for crimes and the failure to prevent them in various regions of the USSR. There is concern in the republics about the post of president and the independence of republics. This should be carefully borne in mind. He calls for no delay.

At 1703 GMT there is a break for the evening children's program.

Deputies Offer Amendments

LD2702181890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 27 February at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1718 GMT the relay resumes. Gorbachev passes the floor to Deputy Sobchak.

At 1719 GMT Sobchak reckons today's session is a historic one and recalls that Russia has been ruled for a century not by laws, but by people. He complains about rather primitive proposals put forward by some speakers. What we need is a president who will lead our socialist state. He believes there is no doubt that the role of president is the one most required for our country, but what is needed above all is a new Constitution to set out the functions of president. Only then can the dangers voiced by Deputy Stankevich be eradicated. He proposes that all presidential functions should be handed over the the Supreme Soviet chairman for a specified period. There is too much reorganization getting in the way of the functions of executive bodies. Once a new constitution is adopted, a nationwide ballot can be held as a result of which a president would be elected.

At 1726 GMT Deputy Kugultinov, a Kalmyk poet, takes the floor and makes the point that it is only the president who can keep the peace during moments of conflict. He quotes a wide range of famous figures from the past and their concepts of freedom. He expresses his feelings about the state of things in the country and about the fate of perestroyka. He goes on to quote Leonid Maksimovich Leonov. He stresses that we need a president; there have been too many laws and not enough "splendid" people. Kugultinov amuses the delegates with his forceful, emotional delivery.

at 1735 GMT Deputy Lauristin is next to speak, expressing support for Stankevich's comments about emergency situations. She says that all the Baltic republics see their path of development in economic independence, and consider a stable presidential power to be very important. She reads out a statement issued by Baltic delegates regarding the proposal of the institution of presidential power.

At 1740 GMT next to speak is Deputy Laptev who traces the beginnings of party/state structure to the thirties, living by laws and not by resolutions, but this system no longer works. He believes that a decision on this matter should not be delayed any longer.

At 1747 GMT Deputy Khmura says we should concentrate our attentions rather on improving the economy and eradicating crime and other urgent matters. He refers to the "tragic events" in the south of the country. We are all striving for a law-based state, but first and foremost we must educate the people into observing the laws of the country, so that we all live according to the laws. Laws are more important then the role of the president. He believes that the question of the president's role can be put back for discussion.

At 1751 GMT Deputy Rakhmanova says that we all sense the weakness of executive power in the country. The imposition of a presidential role would undoubtedly strengthen the country's security. The independence of the Supreme Soviet should be ensured to prevent a cult of personality and abuses of power.

At 1755 GMT Deputy Ryzhkov believes there is no doubt about the expediency of the presidential role and agrees with much of what Deputies Sobchak, Stankevich etc had to say. He expresses general criticisms of various articles in the draft law. He believes that the draft does not provide for a democratic president, as he would not be balanced by a sufficiently strong Supreme Soviet. He believes that this matter should not be tackled in a hurry, but given more detailed consideration.

At 1800 GMT Deputy Gritsenko says that the question of who is to rule the country is a very responsible one, and one which has become more acute of late and should have been decided earlier. Too many laws are being held up and we are talking too much about distributing functions. He believes that a commission should be appointed to apply the finishing touches to this matter and the Presidium should be replaced by a bureau. He calls for political wisdom from delegates.

At 1808 GMT Gorbachev announces a break.

Draft Debate Continues

LD2702195190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 27 January at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1809 GMT Deputy Denisov takes the floor and voices some criticisms of the draft. There is a need to release the head of state from juridical functions.

At 1816 GMT Deputy Krylova, who is chief editor of "RABOTNITSA" journal, refers to a number of letters from her readers expressing their concern for the future in the light of recent events. She believes that the role and functions of a president should be clearly defined, especially when it comes to crisis situations.

At 1819 GMT Deputy Bickauskas says Deputy Lauristin clearly set out the position of the Baltic republics in the statement she read out. He regrets that they could not take part in the debate on the presidency.

At 1821 GMT Deputy Umolatova says that a mechanism of state power is needed which can impose order in the country, and believes that a future president should be given even broader rights and powers. Only then can the stability of Soviet laws be ensured. A president should be able to be more independent in the decisions he makes. She supports the draft law.

At 1825 GMT Deputy Kerimov believes that a new form of authority should be introduced to tackle the crisis situations which have developed in the country. He supports the proposal and believes it should be passed on to the next Supreme Soviet session for examination.

At 1831 GMT Deputy Burlatskiy says he has long been a supporter of the concept of presidential rule in the country, but rejects the notion that the presidential role should be an authoritarian one as in the United States and France. He refers to the many economic problems facing the country and the many decisions made by party bodies. Their functions should be more clearly defined. He calls for the organization of a Presidential Council.

At 1838 GMT Deputy Marchuk voices his general support for what Kudryavtsev said in his report.

At 1844 GMT Gorbachev notes a memorandum from some Baltic deputies saying they don't feel that certain other Baltic deputies necessarily represent their views. Deputy Poltoranin takes the rostrum and gives his views, noting certain reservations about the planned presidency, and supports Sobchak's proposals.

At 1853 GMT Deputy Kucherenko takes the rostrum noting the need for the post of presidency in order to deal with the situation in the country.

At 1900 GMT Deputy Bauchidze takes the floor, noting Gorbachev's important contribution to the country's current development.

At 1904 GMT Deputy Yakovlev, Politburo member, takes the floor. He expressed his absolute support for the proposed presidency, which would not only deal with the question of internal order, but also protect the constitution. He rejects various arguments against the proposal.

At 1912 GMT Deputy Pupkevich takes the floor, noting the need for people to have a guarantee of security, which he feels will be provided by a presidency.

At 1917 GMT Deputy Lubenchenko takes the rostrum, noting his support for the presidency, but voicing dissatisfaction with the draft. He supports the presidency, the holding of a congress, and suggests the abolition of the Presidium.

At 1925 GMT Deputy Samarin takes the floor, voicing dissatisfaction with the short timescale in providing the draft for deputies to study. He goes on to voice reservations, especially with regard to executive power.

At 1931 GMT Gorbachev says that 26 deputies have spoken. What shall we do—continue the debate, after a break until 1600? There seems to be general agreement. The morning sitting ends.

Evening Session Opens

LD2702204790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 27 February at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1934 GMT the evening session opens—440 deputies are registered. Gorbachev is still in the chair. Deputy Engver takes the floor, and says we need a presidency as a guarantee against totalitarianism. He notes that a presidency would resolve some of the difficulties with rule by the party Politburo.

At 1942 GMT Deputy Postnikov takes the floor, supporting the presidency as a symbol of the country's unity, and as a means of upholding the rule of law in the country.

At 1949 GMT Deputy Yemelyanov takes the floor. The post of president will only be democratic when all bodies function as they should. We are only taking the first steps on path of democracy and we are concentrating too much power in one set of hands. We should not be naive in thinking that the institution of presidential power will solve all problems and put all things right. He looks at history and says that whenever matters were decided collegially things went better, citing the first few years of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. These matters, he says, must be discussed by the committees and commissions and should be published for public discussion.

At 1955 GMT Matviyenko takes the floor. She says this issue is not new. All power in the country has always been concentrated in the party and the Politburo in particular, and the structure of power must be reorganized. She supports the idea of a president and Presidential Council. The president should have real powers. The head of state must have a definite status. The document is not perfect and requires substantial revision. One weak point is the relationship between the presidency and the union republics. She shares the fears of Stankevich and Lubenchenko, but believes that they are not a reason for delay over this vital issue. If we don't decide this issue now, it may soon be too late. We have been late on too many issues.

At 2004 GMT Deputy Amanova says that each day brings us a new issue to discuss. She notes that the activity of the Supreme Soviet coincides in many respects with the experience of other countries. She suggests certain amendments to the draft. She says that we should trust any person who takes on the immense responsibility of economic and political reform.

At 2010 GMT Deputy Boldyrev remarks that deputies only received this draft yesterday because of the exceptional nature of the situation. He asks what is the point of a constitution at all, if we are always going to make exceptions to it. Are we not under the illusion that problems are solved by strengthening central power? He disagrees that any of the country's problems can be

solved by this means. The basis of the restricted ability to get anything done lies in the omnipresence of the party. He expresses grave doubts about granting the right of presidential veto. He agrees that we need a strong parliament. He does not think that there are sufficient balances in government, the public and the press, to the president.

At 2018 GMT Ivashko, first secretary of Ukraine Communist Party, takes the floor. He believes that perestroyka is under threat. The draft is a chance to stop the runaway situation. Most deputies, whatever their views, have recognized the importance of the issue. The convening of a congress is vital. He believes alternative drafts could be presented.

At 2021 GMT Deputy Rogatin says that the decision on the post of president requires great courage from the Supreme Soviet, and from the person who takes on the post. He agrees with much that has already been said. He supports adoption of the draft.

At 2029 GMT Deputy Safin takes the floor. He retiterates the critical nature of the situation in the country. People have stopped smiling. The atmosphere in the country on 25 February was so hyped up that many people kept their children off school. At this point there is uproar in the ball and a bell is rung to quieten the hall. Safin continues, saying that economic instability is a result of political inability. People are frightened. People are asking what good such peresroyka is if it causes such problems. Resolute and quick actions are needed. Even good laws are not working. There seems to be a general mood of anarchy. The Constitution is no doubt also tired from being changed everyday. We need to live with presidential power for a good period to develop and perfect it, not just for an experimental year or two.

Deputies Approve Presidential Draft

LD2702215190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 27 February at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 2036 GMT Gorbachev proposes that a vote be taken on whether to cease debates now: 299 for, 89 against, 30 abstentions. The debates end. Now what do we do, he asks? He sums up. Most people, he understands, are for the post of president. He concludes by returning to the discussion of what to do next. They suggest a vote by name. Deputies register. They vote on the type of vote. A deputy asks Gorbachev about the power of the president over the union republics. Gorbachev says he believes the post should be a powerful one and a democratic one. He wants to put Point 1 of the Draft on the Institution of the Presidency to the vote.

At 2059 GMT Shcherbak asks for time until Monday to consider this issue before voting. Lushnikov also asks for time. Gorbachev puts Point 1 to the vote, endorsing the need for the establishment of the post of president. The vote is 347 for, 24 against, 43 abstentions.

At 2102 GMT Gorbachev concludes that the Supreme Soviet has endorsed the need for the post of president. This is a historic moment. He moves on to the clause on the inclusion of the appropriate amendments to the constitution.

At 2105 GMT a deputy who does not introduce himself suggests that tomorrow all committees should engage in discussion of this draft, setting other work aside. A woman deputy proposes that at least a week be spent on discussing this vital issue. It should not be forced through. Gorbachev does not allow her to finish. He says there will no consensus. Filishin asks for a vote on how to elect the president, at the congress or by nationwide elections. Gorbacehv returns to the question of how to organize the work, and when to hold the congress. He suggests that an extraordinary congress be convened around 12-13 March. There is a vote on a proposal to work on the draft for a week and convene the congress for 12-13 March. The vote is 315 for, 70 against, 30 abstentions.

At 2114 GMT an unidentified deputy proposes that the draft should be adopted as a basis. Gorbachev puts this to the vote: 306 for, 65 against, 38 abstentions. He moves on to Filshin's proposal. Various deputies express doubts and fears. Gorbachev puts to the vote the question of whether the draft, after further discussion, should be sent to all deputies and published: 260 for, 94 against, 46 abstentions; some deputies did not vote.

At 2120 GMT Gorbachev asks whether Filishin's proposal should be put to the vote now or later: 167 for, 200 against. There is uproar in the hall. Someone shouts that the Constitution has been violated. Boldyrev says that deputies will be ashamed of this later. Sobchak calls for the Laws on Land and Ownership to be adopted by the session to prevent their further delay.

At 2124 GMT Gorbachev agrees with the urgency of the laws. Gorbachev then speaks about the agenda for tomorrow. Gorbachev suggests that the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia be discussed in the afternoon tomorrow. Lukyanov says the Law on Land is ready for adoption.

At 2126 GMT Gorbachev bids the deputies farewell. The 27 February session concludes.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Executive Presidency

LD2702141190 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—After the report of Academician Kudryavtsev on the establishment of an executive presidency in the Soviet Union, a discussion of this problem began in parliament, which immediately revealed a polarisation of views.

Many speakers supported unconditionally the proposed structure of presidential power and the idea to elect the president for the first time at the Congress of People's Deputies.

Politburo Member and Deputy Aleksandr Yakovlev, explained in detail why he supported an executive presidency. He stressed that the collective power, along with numerous advantages, "invariably reduces dynamism, brings about certain bureaucratisation of working processes and criteria of their evaluation, and makes it unclear who is responsible for what....

"We have the authority to control the leader of the country, but have no leader. The president of the USSR Suprme Soviet cannot be the leader, because his powers are too narrow," Yakovlev said. "There is an obvious contradiction between the need to speed up perestroyka and the weakening of government systems on all levels, especially in the centre."

The congress should be held early in March, because the introduction of an executive presidency cannot be postponed, said Deputy Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president fo the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He believes that without the presidency it is impossible today to ensure the country's domestic and international security, the stability of legislation and the implementation of the economic reform.

Armenian Party Chief and Deputy Suren Arutyunyan described the presidential post as a guarantee of the unity of the federation. "Power capable of quick and resolute actions to protect lawful rights of people of all nationalities is needed in the present complicated situation.

"Delays with the introduction of an executive presidency may pull society totally off balance. Presidential rule will not mean a 'strong hand', but a strong executive power accountable to the people and the law," he said. Arutyunyan, together with many other members of parliament, supported the proposal to hold the next Congress of People's Deputies as soon as possible.

At the same time, some deputies did not reject the idea of presidential power in general, but put forward a number of conditions for its implementation. For instance, Sergei Stankevich, research worker of one of Moscow Research Institutes, is sure that the post of president should be introduced only after the creation of a counterbalance for it, specifically, a strong parliament.

Anatoliy Sobchak, a Leningrad lawyer, also opposed the proposal. He believes that it is necessary to adopt a new Constitution defining a new national and state set-up before introducing the presidency. According to Sobchak, instead of electing a president it is necessary to expand the authority of the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet who actually performs the function of a speaker.

Deputies from the Baltic Republics—members of Popular Fronts and Sajudis—had a separate position. They announced that they would not take part in the formation of new institutions of power, because their prerogatives are "confined to the preparations of talks" on the "restoration of the independence of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia". Deputies from Georgia also put forward a number of conditions for their participation in the voting.

A total of 26 people spoke during the morning sitting. In the evening the discussion will be continued.

'Diverse Ideas' Presented

LD2702123990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpts] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Over to our correspondents' unit at the kremlin. Olga Vasilenko is at the microphone.

[Vasilenko] As you know, there is a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities today which is considering the USSR draft law on the establishment of the post of president of the USSR and the introduction of appropriate amendments and additions to our country's constitution in connection with this. Academician Kudryavtsev, people's deputy of the USSR, read a report on the draft law. He led the working group on this bill. Then the debates started.

Well, the most diverse ideas on the introduction of the institution of the presidency are being expressed. It is being said that this institution—the introduction of a presidency—will make it possible to balance three kinds of power: Legislative, executive, and judicial control. It will make it possible to leave behind us the deficit of power which exists in our country, given the very large apparatus consisting of the most diverse links of authority. Furthermore, according to Aleksandr Nikolyaevich Yakovlev, it will strengthen democratic processes and make it possible to leave behind the Medusa-like condition of our society. So far 26 people have spoken, although there have been very many applications, demands, and notes requesting to speak. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, points of view and arguments are already being repeated. Therefore, only another hour has been given to continue the debates at the evening session. [passage omitted]

I shall remind our listeners that at 1600 [1300 GMT] the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities will continue. The debates will continue on this very complex issue, something which you will have understood from these two interviews. On this I shall end my report on the work of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Attitude Called 'Equivocal'

LD2702082190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

This morning the Soviet parliament assembled for a joint sitting of the chambers in order to discuss one of the most complicated issues facing the present session—the founding of the post of USSR president. The attitude to this innovation in parliament is equivocal, as preliminary discussion has shown.

The morning sitting is being chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The idea of introducing presidential rule into the USSR was formulated at the beginning of this month at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee at the same time as the proposal to open the way to a multiparty system and to exclude from the Constitution the article securing the leading role of the CPSU.

To judge from the numerous letters to the newspapers, the public has welcomed the idea: strengthening the mechanism of power, which has become rather rickety in recent times, is associated with a president. But cautious voices, including from among the deputies, are also being heard. In fact, objections arise not so much from the actual proposal to institute the post of president as from the form and time of its implementation.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (the country's present "collegial president") has pronounced itself in favor of convening, as soon as possible, an extraordinary congress of USSR people's deputies, the supreme body of state power, which would make the relevant amendments to the constitution and elect a president.

Opponents envisage first electing a president by universal suffrage and, second, setting the matter aside until it is discussed in the parliaments of the union republics (elections to the republican and local organs of power are now taking place in the USSR).

As for candidates for the post of president, Mikhail Gorbachev, the current chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has no real alternative, in the view of most observers. At the same time, he has himself declared in parliament that he does not know whether he will be included in the list of candidates.

At the session today, Vladimir Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a prominent Soviet jurist, presented a paper on the draft law for creating the post of president.

Ryzhkov Favors Introducing Presidency

LD2702154390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is convinced of the need for the urgent introduction of a presidential form of government in the country. The head of the government expressed this view in a conversation with journalists covering the session of the Soviet Parliament.

Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that the need to introduce presidential power is dictated not only by the current tasks of bringing order to the country. In essence it is a matter of regrouping power in the country. In the opinion of the head of government the Presidency will make it possible to defend democracy when the old structure of management has become weak, and while the new one has not yet grown strong.

Touching on the functioning of organs of legislative power, the head of government said that the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet take an extraordinarily long time reaching decisions. The situation concerning the draft laws on ownership and land, which the government submitted to parliament as long ago as 1 September last year, and which have still not been adopted, may serve as an example of this.

Commenting, at the TASS correspondent's request, on the fears expressed by some deputies in parliament today that the introduction of a presidency may "disorganize the work of certain bodies of legislative power," Nikolay Ryzhkov stated that he does not see cause for alarm here. The functions of the Council of Ministers remain virtually unchanged, the head of the Soviet Government said.

Nikolay Ryzhkov does not agree with the proposals that have been made for investing the government with special powers. "I have not asked and will not ask for any extraordinary powers. Some individual issue could be resolved with their help, but governing the entire country by this method would lead to instability," he said.

Views Authority, Leasing

[Unattributed report: "Discussion With Journalists"]

PM2802103190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb Second Edition p 2

[Text] An acute discussion unfolded 27 Feb at the plenary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the draft law on presidential power. In the pause between the sessions, Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met Soviet journalists and communicated his opinion:

I said before this and I want to say now, the current moment is not the point. Perhaps the present time is in some way urging one on, but I think it is necessary to

look ahead to the long term; after all, a process of regrouping power in the country is, in point of fact, underway. An impression is forming: Since things are bad today, give us presidential power, a president will bring order. One power has become weaker but another has not become stronger. This is the whole point. We know well how it happened, that beginning in the thirties, the party concerned itself with this issue in a practical fashion. The party says today that it is necessary to give up authority to the local soviets. This process is underway and in this process it is impossible to really tell whether this power was good or bad, but it existed. When, today, the regrouping of power is underway, all institutions of authority need to be set up so that nothing remains outside authority. The government's powers are clearly set out in the draft in hand. I have not asked and will not ask for extraordinary powers. One specific issue may be resolved by such methods; otherwise there is instability.

The power bodies are today incapable of working under the new conditions. We say: "Democratization, "glasnost"... and we really are moving along a democratic road, are moving forward. This is a positive phenomenon. But all three component powers have turned out to be completely unprepared for this situation. First, the legislative authority: The Supreme Soviet, the congress—a great deal of talking goes on. Decisions are being made over a long time, and not always on time. But people are beginning to work, are accumulating experience. For this reason, I think there will be movement forward.

The second thing, executive authority: This is not the same today as it was, either. We should implement it differently. On the one hand more independence needs to be given to the union republics. At the same time there is pressure on the center: Why are you working badly there? Executive authority must today work under real conditions, in a real situation.

The third thing, our legal authority, judicial authority: Is everything there really in order? I am convinced that there are very many shortcomings there as well. Evidently, these bodies, which have many faults, have not yet learned to funciton under the new conditions either.

We must all work in a new manner, although we are sometimes unable to do this. But we are moving foward, sometimes without any theoretical preparation, but life urges one on.

The law on leasing: I think it will go through, although there are some doubts. For this reason, I will probably gather specialists at the beginning of next week, for them to consider everything again. But one must not push people today, ride roughshod over them, and force them to take up leasing. Time is needed for the mechanisms to settle down and for people to believe in this. We have already done a lot of stupid things with our cavalier attacks, they should not be repeated.

All of our transformations are only possible under the conditions of democracy, and we must defend it, N.I. Ryzhkov said in conclusion. This is the main thing. This is only possible if there is a reallocation of the powers of the authorities in our state.

Kudryavtsev Views Aspects of Presidency

LD2702115290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continued its work today. The joint morning sitting was chaired by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The question of establishing the post of the president of the USSR and, in connection with this, of introducing a number of amendments to the constitution was put to deputies for their examination.

Deputy Kudryavtsev, vice president of the Academy of Sciences, made a speech, at the instruction of the Supreme Soviet presidium. He described the motives by which the working group was guided in compiling the new documents.

[Begin Kudryatsev recording] Above all, we proceeded from the fact that the draft law that has been submitted represents one of the elements of a complex process of forming a socialist, law-governed state. The working group proceeded from what, in our view, are several requirements. Let me mention three such aspects on which we focused our attention. In the first place, the delimitation of party and state functionism was discussed . In the second place, it has to be noted that the principle of separation of power was brought into play in what is an altogether fairly consistent manner. Personally, I see it as a very positive thing to have this division of legislative, executive, and judiciary powers. The requirements whereby the activities of at least the legislative and executive bodies have to be coordinated are now being clarified. This coordination is in essence absent. At the very least one can say that it is rather weak.

In the third place, it has become urgently necessary to stabilize the situation and to speedily resolve situations that are out of the ordinary, whatever their nature. The existing structures have turned out to be ill adapted for this.

Everything I have said represents the functions of the head of state. You, comrade deputies, are aware that we used to regard the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet as head of state. There even used to be an appropriate—albeit unofficial—term for this: The collegial president. Experience has shown that collegial leadership is in many cases ineffective. This is particularly the case when speedy decisions are needed.

Currently we call the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman the head of state and the highest official; this is what is

written in the Constitution. But I think this position requires alterations, as it were. Experience shows that the Supreme Soviet chairman is, in practice, deprived of the possibility of discharging the general functions I spoke of. To be frank, the chairman barely succeeds in chairing the sittings of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet. The functions of the head of state and the Supreme Soviet chairman have, in essence, not been separated.

I think that what is needed is a sovereign and independent post of head of state which would be separate from the functions of the leader of parliament. World experience testifies to the fact that the best possible solution in a case such as this is to have a new office, that of the president of the country, introduced. The introduction of this post could facilitate the strengthening of general managerial and, as it were, organizational functions but this would not be to the detriment of either the legislative, the executive, or the judiciary authority. It is with these considerations in mind that the draft law was prepared.

The president's power stems from the people. His high office ought to represent the development and embodiment of democratic principles. It ought to represent a counterbalance to bureaucratic attitudes and the pursuit of narrow departmental interests.

It is very important to define correctly the president's powers. This means, above all, a precise delimitation between his functions and the functions of other bodies of state. [end recording]

Debates in which deputies submitted remarks on and additions to the proposed draft law commenced after this speech. The session is continuing its work.

Yakovlev on Concept of Executive Presidency

LD2702141990 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—Strengthening democratic processes in the USSR calls for establishing an executive presidency in the country, Soviet Communist Party Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev told parliament today during a debate on presidential rule.

The main essence of establishing the new post, the speaker stressed, is "to be a dialectic antithesis to the collective form of power," which for all it's strong points "eventually loses momentum, and is marked by a bureaucratisation of work processes and criteria for their assessment, a lack of individual responsibility."

Today, when authority is being passed from the party to constitutional bodies, one should be prepared for organic changes in the structure of political power, Yakovlev said. He noted that "we already have the authority to control the leader of the country, but have no leader." The president of the USSR Supreme Soviet cannot be the leader because his powers are too narrow, the speakers said.

"There is obvious contradiction between the need to speed up perestroyka and the weakening of government systems on all levels, especially in the centre."

Many people see in the country's president a "strong arm", with good reason, Yakovlev continued. But the presidential system could also raise an additional barrier to bids to seize power in an unconstitutional way.

"Society," Yakovlev said, "should be reliably protected against lawlessness, against the attempts of irresponsible or corrupt forces, representing no one, to usurp power, and should be cured of legal nihilism. It is my conviction that the executive presidency in the USSR will make our entire political system capable of combining various forms and means of government in each case, of synthesising power. Importantly, it also means the acceleration of democratic processes."

Yakovlev opposed the proposal to give the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet the powers of an executive president for one to two years with a possible extension in future and stressed that "this concerns not an acting director of a sauna but the powers of the president of the great country."

Baltic Deputies Oppose Presidency Moves

LD2702161590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] As you are no doubt already aware, at today's plenary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the draft law on presidential power in the USSR was submitted to the deputies. A furious debate followed. Many of those who spoke gave their backing almost without reservation to both the proposed structure of presidential power and the time for convening an extraordinary congress of USSR People's Deputies, at which it is proposed to elect a president. Their motives were the extremely tense situation in the country and the growth of concern for the fate of restructuring.

Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet also voiced other opinions, underlining the contradictory nature of the draft and the fact that insufficient work has been done on it.

This point of view was upheld by deputies Stankevich, Sobchak, and others. The group of deputies from the Soviet Baltic had a particular standpoint. They gave notification that they would not take part in the formation of new bodies of power since the authority invested in them by the supreme soviets of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is, they claim, predominantly restricted to preparing for talks with the leadership of the USSR on establishing the state independence of those republics.

The work of the session continues.

Supreme Soviet Votes in Favor of Presidential Post

LD2702150590 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 27 Feb 90

["Flash—Soviet Parliament Supports Presidential Post"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliament today overwhelmingly voted to support the proposal by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to institute the presidential post in the country.

Text of Presidency Resolution

PM2802113990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet resolution: "On the Institution of the Post of USSR President and the Introduction of the Relevant Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To deem it necessary to institute the post of president of the USSR.

2. To adopt as a basis for this a draft law on the institution of the post of USSR president and the introduction of the relevant changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law).

3. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium together with USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the chambers' standing commissions to carry out further work on the draft of the aforesaid law, bearing in mind the proposals and comments made at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

To publish the amplified draft of the law in the press.

4. To submit the draft law on the institution of the post of USSR president and the introduction of the relevant changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) for examination by an Extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies.
M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 27 February 1990

Moscow TV Carries Deputies Speeches 27 Feb

Vladimir Kudryavtsev

LD2702212190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Speech by Deputy Vladimir Nikolayevich Kudryavtsev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president form the recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet morning session on 27 February chaired by M.S. Gorbachev at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Text] [Gorbachev] We can work. The morning session is declared open. It is proposed today that we discuss the issue of instituting the post of president of the USSR, and making the necessary amendments and additions to the Constitution in connection with it. As was agreed, in the last few days the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has engaged in a study of this matter; a working group, which includes a number of People's Deputies and major specialists, has been set up; after discussion of the documents prepared by that working group and considerable work on finalizing them, the Presidium put foward a recommendation to the session that it adopt a relevant law and submit it for examination by the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. We agreed that Deputy Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a participant in our group, will make a statement on this matter, on the Presidium's instruction. Go ahead, Vladimir Nikolayevich.

[Kudryavtsev] Esteemed comrade deputies! I should like to express the motives by which the working group was guided in preparing the draft law, and some thoughts on the essence of this draft law. Well, above all, we proceeded from the fact that the draft law which is being proposed is one of the elements of the complex process of forming a socialist, law-governed state. The decisive—one could say cardinal—step on this road was taken when the new legislative bodies were established: The Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is operating at present. There are perfectly good grounds for saying that the new legislative system has justified itself completely; and, although far from all laws have yet been adopted, this process is proceeding fairly successfully, and the quality of legislative activity is growing perceptibly.

Unfortunately, however, this cannot be said of the implementation of the laws. I shall not describe the situation in the economy, interethnic relations and the field of observance of public order—that situation is too well known. I should just add, perhaps, that the system of local bodies of power has not yet started functioning. But, worst of all is the fact that we can see serious gaps in the organization of the work of the central bodies, especially when unforeseen factors and complex situations arise. There are delays in the adoption of many decisions, and one can say that it is even worse with their fulfilment. It is no coincidence that there has been discussion recently in the press, at rallies and in state bodies and the Supreme Soviet of the issue of amending our state system—or, to put it more specifically, of instituting a new post, that of president of the country.

Evidently, it has to be noted that there is a real need for a discussion of this matter and, evidently, for a change to this state system in this central part. The working group proceeded here on the basis of what we believe are several requirements. I shall list three such points to which we paid attention. First, there is the delimitation of the functions of party and state. It is well known that in the past all the main matters of domestic and foreign

policy were solved by party bodies, and thus, the main link in the elaboration of the strategy of state life was, in essence, outside the state system. Evidently, it is necessary now, as we delimit these functions, to strengthen the central link in state power, which was previously replaced by party decisions. In this connection, the appearance of new structures is possible, and we believe that the appearance of such structures is not only possible, but, evidently, necessary.

Second, it has to be noted that the principle of the separation of powers has been carried out—and, in general, fairly consistently. I, personally, consider it a great positive point to have this separation of legislative, executive and judicial power. But now, a need to harmonize activity—at least, that of the legislative and executive bodies—and to coordinate these actions is becoming clear. This coordination is, in essence, absent, or one can say at least that it is fairly weak.

Third, there has arisen an urgent need to stabilize the situation and to resolve extraordinary situations speedily, whatever their nature. The existing structures have turned out to be unadapted to this.

All of this, which I mentioned, is the function of the head of state. You, comrades deputies, know that previously we regarded the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium as the head of the state—there was even such a term: Collegial president, even though this was not an official term. But experience has shown the ineffectiveness, in many cases, of collegial leadership, especially when quick decisions are necessary.

Now we call the head of state and supreme functionary—this has been written in the Constitution—he is the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman. But this post, I think, also, so to speak, is in need of amendments. Because experience shows that the Supreme Soviet chairman, to all intents and purposes, is deprived of the possibility of fulfilling the general functions mentioned by me. Well, speaking frankly, the chairman hardly has time to conduct the sittings of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet; and the functions of head of state and Supreme Soviet chairman have essentially not been divided.

It seems that what is needed is a sovereign and independent post of head of state, which would be separate from the functions of leader of parliament. World experience shows that the most optimal solution in a case such as this is to to have a new post—that of the post of the president of the country—introduced. The introduction of this post could contribute to strengthening managerial, as it were, organizational functions, but this cannot be to the detriment of either the legislative, the executive, or judicial authority. It is with these considerations in mind that the draft law was prepared.

This is the first group of questions which I wanted to mention.

A second, fairly brief remark, is that the institute of president is designed differently in various countries. The members of the Supreme Soviet have received reference materials on this matter. It can, however, be said, that some functions of the president are bound to exist, whatever design of presidential rule is used.

Well, first, the president personifies the unity of his state and represents it inside the country and in international relations.

Second, the president must be above party, departmental or ethnic differences and be the cementing element of the entire state and political life in the country.

Third, he is obliged to strictly observe the Constitution and the laws, and be in this respect a standard of the norms of law, indeed, perhaps, it can be said also of norms of morality.

Finally, fourth, there must be instruments in order to prevent presidential rule from being usurped, so that it should not turn to arbitrariness. In other words, all countries provide for the responsibility of this supreme functionary, for his actions, and for his decisions.

The president's power stems from the people and his high office ought to represent the development and embodiment of the democratic principles. It ought to represent a counterbalance to bureaucratic attitudes and the pursuit of narrow departmental interests. It is very important here to define correctly the president' powers. This means, above all, a precise delimitation between his functions and the functions of other bodies of state.

In this connection I think I should dwell on three more specific questions.

These specific questions are: First, the correlation between the president's powers and the Supreme Soviet; second, the correlation between his powers and the Government; and, third, control of his actions.

The first question is the relationship with the congress and the Supreme Soviet, that is to say, with the supreme state bodies—the bodies of state power.

According to the fundamental idea of the draft law—and you have this text—the president is elected by the entire people. But the working group has come round to thinking that now, that is to say, the first time, it would be possible for the Congress of People's Deputies to do this. If the congress were to elect the president, this could be done not for the five year period which theoretically is envisaged for this post, but for four years, that is to say, for the remaining term of the congress.

Second, it is important to point out that the competence of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet remains unchanged; that is, it is not proposed to transfer to the president any of the powers of either the congress or the Supreme Soviet. The president is obliged to fulfil the decisions of the congress; he is obliged to fulfil the laws adopted by the congress or the Supreme Soviet, and to carry out general supervision [kontrol] of the observance and implementation of these

acts. Decrees adopted by the president may not be at variance with the Constitution and laws. The president has the right to initiate legislation. These are essentially the functions which exist in all countries, and the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman currently has these functions.

Third, the powers currently belonging to the Supreme Soviet chairman are transferred to the president—that is, Article 121 of the Constitution—as well as a number of powers currently belonging to the Supreme Soviet Presidium—that is, Article 119 of the Constitution. All these powers are enumerated in the draft you have before you, Article 127 (2). This, I would say, is the main article, which describes the functions of the president. I mean Section 15 (1) in the text you have, a new section, 15 (1); and Article 127 (2).

In connection with the fact that the functions of the Presidium, many functions, almost all the functions, are transfered to the president, it is proposed to form in place of the Presidium a bureau, as envisaged in Article 118.

Fourth, it should be said that two new functions are added in regard to the USSR Supreme Soviet. I should like to draw attention to these two new functions. The first is envisaged in Article 127 (2), Point 10. This states that the president signs USSR laws: This is not a new function, the chairman signs them now, but a new text follows. He has the right to return a law with his objections to the USSR Supreme Soviet for repeated discussion and voting. If after a repeat vote the USSR Supreme Soviet confirms its previous decision, the USSR president may sign the law or appeal to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, or may call a referendum. This is the first and, I would say, the main amendment or addendum in his mutual relations with the Supreme Soviet.

The second change is envisaged in Point 16 of the same Article 127 (2). I shall also read out the text, since it is new: In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet which cannot be removed by the chamber's Conciliation Commission—for which the Constitution provides, as you know—the USSR president examines the issue with the aim of working out an acceptable solution. If agreement cannot be reached, and there is a risk of a breach of the normal activities of state power and administration, the USSR president submits to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies a proposal for election of the USSR Supreme Soviet in a new composition. This is also an essentially new addition. I would like to say that essentially the monitoring or, one might say, regulating functions, which are relevant to the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet are exhausted with this. These functions exist in all presidential forms of governing, that is in essence the postponing of the signing of a law and returning it to parliament; and the second is the fresh election or, one might say, the dissolution of parliament with its subsequent election. I would like to put forward, in passing, an idea that was discussed in the work of the group. In the event of a law being returned to the Supreme Soviet, in the parliament in other countries when it is put to a repeat vote, usually a qualified majority is required in order to ratify the text of a law, well let's say two thirds of the votes. Here the working group did not consider it possible to envisage that. The usual voting of more than half was kept and consequently, this means that with that same majority of votes the Supreme Soviet can ratify a law previously adopted by it. With regard to the Congress of People's Deputies the president does not have any powers, and here there are no articles and no points of any kind on this subject. This was on the relationship with the Supreme Soviet.

Now the relationship to the government must be mentioned. That is, here the relationship to the government boils down to five points. Of them some existed previously; some are new. The first point consists of the fact that the president presents to the Supreme Soviet and then the congress the candidates for the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. This is the function which was fulfilled, is at present fulfilled by the chairman. What is new is that the president can submit to the supreme soviet and the congress a proposal on the resignation of the Council of Ministers or its chairman. That is Article 1272, paragraph 7, and can also submit a proposal on an expression of lack of confidence in the government. That is Article 130, paragraph 4. This function did not exist, and hence pay attention here to the fact that the president himself cannot demand, or rather so to speak, announce the resignation of the government. He cannot do that himself, but he can only submit the proposal, a proposal like that, to the congress or the Supreme Soviet. The third circumstance is that he relieves and appoints members of the government on the representation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers with subsequent confirmation by the congress. That is paragraph 8 of the same article. The fourth point consists of the fact that the president's edicts are compulsory for the Council of Ministers. This is also a new circumstance, but simply because there were no edicts of this kind before. Finally the fifth point consists of the fact that the chairman of the Council of Ministers and some ministers are members of the president's council. The chairman of the Council of Ministers is also a member of the council of the federation where the president is the chairman. Thus, the monitoring function over the activity of the government is carried out in this manner.

Since it is proposed that two consultative bodies should be set up, that is, the council of the federation and the president's council, then sufficiently great opportunities appear for agreeing upon and strengthening cooperation between the legislative and executive power. I would like to stress that both the federal council, the council of the federation to be more exact, and the presidential council are examined here in the draft law as advisory bodies. That is, they themselves do not adopt any decisions.

If some kind of thoughts or decisions take shape meanwhile, well, only the president may do that by his decree. The decree may not contradict either the Constitution, nor a law which has been adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

Point five is essentially the last. That is supervision over the activity of the president. We have proceeded from the premise that there ought to be some kind of control. It consists of three points. In the first place, under this draft, the president is elected by the congress and the congress may remove him ahead of his term [dosrochno]. However, there is here Article 127-5 which says that the president can be dismissed from his post ahead of term in the event that the USSR Constitution is violated. That formula is different in different countries. In the United States, certain types of crime are added for which a president may be dismissed and there are other wordings, let us say, in the event of the committing of amoral deeds. We have settled for a more laconic wording—the violation of the USSR Constitution. Moreover, that dismissal takes place by the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies and on the initiative of either the congress or of the USSR Supreme Soviet. That is, so to speak, the first element of control.

The second element of control concerns the committee for constitutional supervision because one more point has now been written in its functions. This is the supervision of the president's decrees on the part of this committee for constitutional supervision, that is to say, in his actions, in his decrees, the president is under the committee's supervision. These decrees can be cancelled by the Congress of People's Deputies. This is Article 108, paragraph 10.

Finally, the third control function. This is the deputies' right of interpellation of the president. This is Article 122: Any USSR people's deputy can address a question to the president, just as to another functionary.

Thus, a kind of system of checks and counterbalances, if one can put it that way, is created. Its aim is that the president, on the one hand, should have the necessary independence in making decisons, can exercise control over the activities of supreme legislative and executive bodies, not permitting extremes on their part and coordinating their work, and on the other hand, that the president himself should be under supervision so as not to permit violations of the Constitution and laws. We think the draft being proposed is aimed at resolving these tasks. It goes without saying that the draft needs to be thoroughly discussed. The main question, here it seems, is to correctly define the correlations between the powers of the three bodies: The Supreme Soviet, the government, and the president. The working group has sought to do this in a balanced way, without substantially detracting from the relations which have already now come about, especially as far as legislative power is concerned. Deputies, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet are now to judge to what extent we have succeeded in this. I can complete my report at this point, Mikhail Sergeyevich. But, it is true, I have some questions [to answer].

[Gorbachev] Go ahead.

[Kudryavtsev] I have two questions here. First question: In our union state, where the republics are not of an equal size, can the mechanism of electing the president by a majority of the population of the union operate? To all intents and purposes this will be the majority of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic against the will of the remaining 14 republics. Are the following formulas possible, it says further: By a majority in each of the 15 republics or by a majority in the union plus a majority in eight republics? Which one of those is acceptable from your point of view?

Yes, this question is fully justified, I would say. When the working group pondered it, we had just such thoughts, or I would say doubts, of the same kind. On the whole, both these formulas are acceptable. Apart from those there can also be other variants. This is one of the motives, one of the reasons why we believed that having a nationwide ballot now is not expedient because this question has not yet been thought out and thoroughly prepared. Now one could probably confine oneself to election by he congress of this functionary, if, of course, this is the will of the congress, and this question needs to be studied.

The second question here is: Why is the mechanism for nominating and registering presidential candidates that can be proposed in our conditions, especially bearing in mind the propsect of a multiparty system?

Here a mechanism is being proposed, well, for the time being, it is being proposed in the most general form. It is a matter of persons, organizations of persons, which have the right of legislative initiative, nominating. Well then, if one speaks of a mechanism, then there should be some commission which would take on this organizing initiative and afterward the usual order of nominating by organizations, persons.

There is one more question here: How, in our view, can the slogan "All power to the soviets" be combined with the setting up of a presidential institute?

You see, I believe in general that the slogan "All power to the soviets" should of course receive a more precise definition. You know that it originated fairly long ago. If we divide legislative, executive, and judiciary power, we must recognize, for instance, that legislative power in no way belongs to the soviets, and must not belong to them. We must probably say just the same of executive power. Executive power also does not belong to the soviets as such if we understand by soviets so to speak a mass, well, institute. Legislative power must belong to the soviets, this is my point of view. In this way I have replied to this question.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. We are coming to the speeches.

Anatoliy Sobchak

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[Speech by Deputy Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak at the USSR Supreme Soviet morning session on 27 February chaired by M.S. Gorbachev at the Kremlin in Mosocw; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We, comrades, are appointing or deciding the question not of the appointment of an all-union gendarme. But we need a president who will head our union state. It seems to me that any haste in deciding these questions, any not working through what has been defined, as it seems, as trifles, but in actual fact are questions of extreme importance, is impermissible here. That is why I am making a proposal. We really do need to strengthen the status of the chairman of the Presidium, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. His present powers are the powers of a speaker.

I propose that all those...compare...compare the Constitution and the powers of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and compare the functions of president which are being proposed to us, and everything that is lacking, we can decide already today and supplement the functions of chairman of the Supreme Soviet with the relevant powers. Without holding additional elections. I do not even see any obstacles in the way of naming the chairman of the Supreme Soviet as president.

Aleksandr Yakovlev

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[Speech by Deputy Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, from the recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet morning session on 27 February chaired by M.S. Gorbachev at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! Yes, we are standing today at historic crossroads, crossroads from the point of view that our democracy, which is still fragile, requires new stimuli and new principled decisions. I believe that three questions are of key importance for defining our attitude to the idea of the presidency within the framework of our political, democratic system.

First, do we need a president? It is my profound, sincere conviction that we absolutely do, and not so much for today as for further ahead, for the country's future development. I am also convinced that we are late in introducing this institution.

Second, are we not risking the revival in the country, albeit with a new and different appearance, of a regime of personal power which will, after a certain period of time, become unrestricted and uncontrollable? But that depends on us, on how far we think through the whole system of presidential power and on how we keep checks on its use.

Third, do we dare endow the post of president of the USSR with the rights that are adequate and necessary to make it effective and not symbolic? That also depends on us, principally on our belief in ourselves, in our readiness to fulfill our civic and parliamentary obligations.

The following point of view is often expressed in discussions being conducted now. People are tired, tired of tension, disorder, uncertainty, the decline in respect for the law, the rise in crime, conflicts, and other negative manifestations. Explicitly or implicitly, the supporters of such a point of view see in the future president a strong arm and a firm power capable of bringing about order. Such desires are widespread in society; there are some grounds for them, and we must not fail to take account of them. But I think that, apart from the extremely necessary introduction of order and legality in the country, the new approach, meaning the approach to the presidency, will be an additional barrier to attempts at an unconstitutional aspiration to power—putting it no more strongly than that. If we restrict our approach to the presidency and its functions to just these considerations, we will be turning virtually the same face toward our old myths and illnesses, notions of the good tsar, the unshakeable leader, and such like. That is in no way compatible with the course aimed at democratization and the development of self-government by the people. Therefore, it is extremely important not to view the institution of the presidency as some kind of fire-fighting measure, because long-term, forward-looking considerations are, in my view, far more important than those that deal with the current moment.

Comrade Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak is right here when he speaks of the expediency of the presidency, proceeding from general considerations, but I think that we must not expect the adoption of a sequence of laws for this process to lead us logically to the presidency. I think that the deepening of democratic processes requires, specifically, a political regrouping of power. What is more, a dangerously nihilistic attitude to the institutions of power is developing in this country, for various reasons, to say nothing of the fact that even the leader of the state is being turned today into a means of soothing our complexes and characters.

The chief purport of the presidency in the long-term lies in the fact that the president, as a real living person, is the dialectical antithesis of the collective bodies of power, bodies which for all the respect for them and the understanding of the need for their functions, nevertheless inevitably bear the stamp of both plusses and organic defects. The collective nature of any body inevitably erases dynamism, brings with it the familiar bureaucratization of its work processes, in the operation of and the criteria for assessing them, and erosion of responsibility.

The opponents of presidential power today, and from this rostrum, speak of the lack of power but object to a decisive step in this direction. But the logic of their arguments or rather their reason is for me difficult to catch. As for decentralization of the economy, which is allegedly in contradiction to political consolidation, I simply do not see this contradiction here. As for the proposal of the prolongation principle, so to speak, a presidency for a year or two, I think, comrades, we need not a temporarily acting manager of a bathhouse but a plenipotentiary president of a great country. But what do we have in our country? Under the reform of the political system the functions of power are being transferred from the party to the constitutional bodies of power. In this way, already in the not-too-long-term, there will occur organic changes for which we must be prepared, otherwise we will again start to sprinkle our thinning hair with ashes and reproach ourselves for not being ready for these changes, reproach ourselves for being late, for lack of foresight and so on and so forth.

We have created collective legislative and monitoring supreme bodies, the Congress of People's Deputies, and the Supreme Soviet and have made a start on the process of division of power in the state, which is truly necessary. But we must reckon in the long term with the possibility of the formation of other parties. To sum up, at the present moment we have bodies to monitor the leader of the country and state, but we lack the leader himself. The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet cannot be such a leader. His constitutional powers are exceedingly narrow. In other words, there arises a most acute contradiction between the need for the continuation and deepening of perestroyka, the renewal of the country, and the debilitation of the system of administration at all levels, but especially at the central level. This contradiction must be eliminated because it contains, comrades, the possibility of fresh antagonisms and antagonism generally. New bodies of power are needed, along with a developed system of mutual relations between them. New cadres are needed, educated in respect of democracy and the law. Laws themselves and clear and lucid procedure for their execution are needed.

On all these questions we will dispute a great deal more, think and search, but of course we will not solve everything today. Society must be reliably protected from lawlessness, from attempts by irresponsible and corrupt forces representing no one to usurp power. It must be cured of legal nihilism.

I am convinced that the introduction of the post of president of the USSR will give our whole political system overall the capability for the optimum combination in each case of different forms and means of administration, optimum division of powers, but also synthesis of power, and most important of all, it will mean an acceleration of the democratic processes. We must, comrades, get out of the Medusa-like condition of power in general and consolidate the road to true democracy based on the law.

Thank you for your attention.

Suren Arutyunyan

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[Speech by Deputy Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, from the recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet morning session on 27 February chaired by M.S. Gorbachev at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies:

The truth is bitter, but one should not evade it. Today it is not just individual regions which are called explosive. Acute problems are shaking the country. When life is threatened, when outrages are committed upon the native hearth, there are not only tears in people's eyes; they contain questions generated through the pain of suffering: Where is the defense of the state? Where is the force of law?

Many people today have been deprived of their usual reference points and abiding ideas, are tired and overwrought. In these conditions, fissures of anarchy have formed, into which forces of lawlessness and disorder, pursuing their far-reaching aims, have rushed.

We intend to continue following the road of democratization and renewal. But you can't build a democratic state out of fine words and slogans. The country needs real law and order and the citizens need calm and personal safety. Here presidential government can become an effective guard of the state's constitutional foundations. In our vast, multinational country, which does not have sufficient experience of political culture, this is also a guarantee of the unity of the federation. Needed in today's very complicated situation is a rule which is capable of quick and decisive actions to defend the legitimate rights of people of all nationalities, wherever they live. Procrastination in introducing such a rule can tighten even more the tight knot of conflicts and completely unbalance society.

It is rightly said that when there is a flare-up of excesses, it is not the military that are late, it is the authorities [vlast] that are late. This cannot be allowed to continue. It is not a matter of a strong arm, as it seems to some. It is a matter of a strong executive rule, which is responsible before the people by law.

Perestroyka has engendered a huge wave of social optimism, expectation, and confidence that the country will very soon get out of the political and economic crisis. Hopes of quick success have proven futile. Unfulfilled hopes have given rise to impatience. In these conditions, the growth of chaos and anarchy can outstrip the processes of democratization. In order not to permit this, it is the country's president who could most effectively fulfil the role of some kind of social stabilizer, and at the

same time become a guarantor of the normal development and functioning of democratic structures.

It is no secret that a marked weakening of executive power and the lack of effective mechanisms of implementing laws frequently brings to naught efforts by the Congress of People's Deputies and of the USSR Supreme Soviet to create a legislative base for a law-governed socialist state, and is leading to a decline in their authority.

Surely, the fact that, immediately following the adoption by the Congress of People's Deputies of a declaration regarding the impermissibility of the blockade of motor and railway roads, on the territory of one of the union republics another blockade of its neighboring republic is being organized, does not contribute to raising the authority and prestige of the congress.

People are ever more frequently asking themselves: What is the sense of stormy and protracted parliamentary debates if the laws and decisions adopted don't work in practice?

Introducing the institution of the presidency will also assist speeding up the process of creating a legislative basis for a law-governed state.

I think that the right of presidential veto will raise the quality of Soviet laws and will ensure the stability of the main institutions necessary for the functioning of the state.

Establishing the post of president of the country will ensure the personification of responsibility at the very highest level of state power, which is extremely important. After all, arising ever more frequently in the country's parliament is the question of who bears personal responsibility for the adoption, or the tardy adoption, of some or other political decisions. Who should bear responsibility for the delay in introducing order in Sumgait, in Fergana, in Baku, for the unprecedented actions on the USSR state border? Why is it just not possible to get out of the crisis situation which has arisen around Nagorno-Karabakh. Urgent measures are needed on the issue of the refugees. Sufficiently convincing—in my view—arguments in favor of establishing the post of president of the USSR have already been cited here. The arguments against essentially boil down to saying that too great power could end up in the president's hands. In my view, the procedure for recalling the president and for calling him to account, as well as the limit on how long the same person can stay in this post, removes these fears in many respects.

At the same time, it is necessary to seriously think out the question of the interrelations between the center and the republics, between the president of the USSR and of the highest functionaries of the parties of the federation. Locally—I won't hide this—the possibility of the republics' independence being limited as a result of actions by the president of the USSR is causing anxiety. Evidently, the functions of the USSR Federal Council and of the USSR Presidential Council should be determined more precisely, and it should be defined more precisely in what cases the president of the USSR can be removed from the fulfilment of his duties or dismissed from his post.

Finally, presidential government should raise personal responsibility in all echelons of power. It is important to draw up an effective mechanism for the unconditional fulfilment of all decrees and decisions of the president of the USSR.

In conclusion, I wish to express once more my support for the idea of presidential government and I consider it necessary to submit this question for examination by the USSR Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. Taking into account the situation which has arisen in the country, I believe that one should simply not postpone deciding this question.

Maryu Lauristin

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[Speech by Deputy Maryu Yokhannesonvna Lauristin from the recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet morning session on 27 February chaired by M.S. Gorbachev at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The main thing as far as we are concerned is the fact that our peoples—the peoples of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania—over the past two-three months have come to a very unanimous and very precise realization of the prospects for our development, and this is expressed in the decisions of the supreme bodies of power of our republics now—that is, of the Supreme Soviets. We see our path of development in achieving the independence of our states: That is, we want this to be a democratic decision which will be achieved during the process of talks between Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania and the supreme representatives of power of the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual interests and respect for mutual sovereignty. It is from this viewpoint that we naturally look at this new institution, and it is from this viewpoint that we see the heights of those successes in international politics which have been achieved by the Soviet Union, from the viewpoint of the new thinking and from the viewpoint of the development of general European integration. Therefore, we consider that in all subsequent steps and in all subsequent talks it is very important to have a stable presidential power and the confidence to continue this policy.

But, on the other hand, by virtue of the fact that we, through the decisions of our Supreme Soviets, now, among you, see as our main role, by the trust invested in us, the preparation of talks on nonparticipation in the development of internal state power in the Soviet Union as it is now, we must express our specific point of view, and permit me to read out a statement.

We, the undersigned deputies, elected from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, proceeding from the will of our peoples, which has been endorsed by the supreme legislative bodies of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, to restore our state independence and embark upon talks with this objective, state that the establishment of a presidential form of rule, with the creation of an appropriate system of restriction of autocracy in the form of parliamentary and judicial restraints and counterbalances, can and should, in realistic political conditions, be conducive to the process of democratization in the USSR and restructuring of the Soviet economy and introduction of the principles of new thinking in both foreign and domestic policy.

At the same time, we cannot take part in the discussion and shaping of any new state institutions of the USSR since, following the decisions of the supreme bodies of power of our republics regarding the need to restore the independence of our states, our powers are restricted in the main to preparing for talks between our authorities and the USSR, which is in no way compatible with our participation in adopting decisions regarding USSR state forms. At the same time, we express concern regarding the emergence of a tendency by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to interpret our participation in the work of the supreme bodies of power in the USSR as acceptance of the current de-facto situation of the Baltic states.

This circumstance can only reaffirm our political reluctance to take part in shaping the bodies of power in the USSR, which as a consequence may be interpreted in a manner contrary to the perfectly clear and unambiguous will of our peoples.

Signed: Vilkas, Kallas, Nugis, Lauristin, [name indistinct], Skulme, Aare, [name indistinct], Bisers, Gryazin, Kabin, Bronstein, Kostenetskaya, Lutsans, Peters, Kupliaskas [as heard—a deputy called Kupiauskiene, the female form of the same name, is listed], Kudarauskas, Gudaitis, Medvedev, Bickauskas, Prunskiene, Vare, Buracas, Brazauskas, Anatanaitis, Boyars. Thank you.

Draft Envisages Professionalizing Internal Troops

LD2702222690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Let us recall that yesterday, the Soviet of the Union examined a number of draft laws relating to emergency situations arising in specific areas of the country. Among these is the draft law on the duties and rights of the Internal Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in maintaining public order. Here is what Nikolay Vasiliyevich Fedorov, USSR people's deputy and a member of the Committee for Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order; said about this draft law.

[Begin Fedorov recording] The main questions the authors of the draft law have tried to deal with are as follows: First, to insure that the activities of the Internal Troops are fully constitutional. There was a very heated debate at the First Congress of People's Deputies over the unconstitutional nature of the decree that regulates the activities of the Internal Troops.

Second, the draft law puts solving the problem of using what are called special means and are used in breaking up mass disorders, etc., on a completely different level. For the first time, such special means as handcuffs, water cannon, and so on, are legalized on the level of the law, and what is most important, the law stipulates conditions and grounds for their use: Under what conditions they may be used, and when use of the special means must end.

Again, something that is very important, and perhaps more important than all the previous points I have mentioned, is the fact that the concept of professionalizing the Internal Troops is embodied in Article One of the resolution on application of this law and in the law itself. We are one of what are called the developed countries of the world, and no doubt the only one that uses young men, boys of 18 and 19, who are called up for active military service, to disperse those involved in mass disturbances, to guard places of confinement and similar operations. This is clearly immoral, and there is a lack of correlation between what the young man is offered and what he actually does. So, if we really wish to insure order during such excesses as mass disturbancess, of course it is professionals, in a class all their own, who ought to work there, professionals who are properly trained—physically, intellectually, and professionally—men between the ages of 25 and 30 years. We are instructing the government to prepare all the necessary documents and material foundations to put the internal troops—where they carry out functions protecting public order—onto a professional basis. [end recording]

Concluding Remarks at 27 Feb Evening Session

LD2702235690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2123 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Concluding remarks by Deputies Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak; Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Aleksandr Nikolayevich Krayko; and M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; from the recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet evening session on 27 February chaired by M.S. Gorbachev at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Text] [Sobchak] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, I am putting forward one procedural matter. I request that, independently of work on the drafts of these documents, a Supreme Soviet session be held and the Laws on Ownership and Land be adopted, so that we can confirm them at the congress, because this is absolutely necessary and must not be postponed further.

[Gorbachev] If such a possibility exists....

[Sobchak, interrupting] No, it must be definite, or else this matter will again be delayed by six months, comrades.

[Gorbachev] If such a possibility exists, I should welcome it eagerly.

[Sobchak] We agree to work even until midnight, but just so that this matter...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Let us instruct Comrade Lukyanov and the chairman of the chambers and commissions to work out their bearings on this and, if such a need exists, to organize such work in order to reach it.

[Lukyanov] To adopt the law on land, if....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Comrade Krayko, go ahead.

[Krayko] Right. Dear comrades, I want to remind you that at the second congress powers were given to the Supreme Soviet not only to adopt these laws, but also to make all the amendments to the Constitution which prevent them being put into practice. Therefore, I do not understand why these two things should be tied together. In my opinion, we can, if we manage it, then that's good, but if we don't manage it....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Comrade Krayko, this is how I look at it: If we manage it, that's excellent. [murmuring in hall] Fine. Today's agenda has been exhausted. What will there be tomorrow? The floor is given to Comrade Lukyanov for an announcement. Perhaps we'll do it like this: We'll put down the matter of the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia for the second half of tomorrow.

[Lukyanov] Comrades, we have the following proposal: That from tomorrow morning we examine and adopt the fundamentals of the legislation on land, which are ready; and that in the evening session we have a closed session from 1600 [1300 GMT] and request our Armenian and Azerbaijani comrade deputies, together with the representatives from Nargorno-Karabakh, to do some work today, as they ought, and tomorrow and to present us with a draft by the lunch interval, so that it can be distributed. It has been examined many times already. But then we shall, first, get on with a real matter, the fundamentals of the legislation on land and, second, try to solve that contentious issue.

[Gorbachev] Can we agree with that? [affirmative murmers from hall] Goodbye.

Provisions of Draft Tax Law Package Explained

PM2802104790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[V. Romanyuk report under the rubric "Third USSR Supreme Soviet Session": "Incomes and Taxes"]

[Text] The Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission has completed preparing the package of draft laws on taxation. Three of the four drafts have already been submitted for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Opening the press conference organized on this occasion, Commission Chairman V. Kucherenko noted that the draft laws proposed for consideration do not pursue the objective of supplementing the state budget come what may but are aimed at enhancing the activeness of labor collectives and take into account the interests of various social groups. Tax advantages for categories of the population on fixed incomes are built into the draft laws. The most complex ones to agree, he went on to note, were the questions of determining tax rates, distributing tax in proportion between union and republic budgets, and providing methods for anti-inflation regulation.

The draft law on citizens' tax liability is the first in the package. Legislators came up against considerable difficulties while working on it. There was a need—without stifling citizens' economic activeness—to catch the superincomes which are much higher than average wages in the country. Leveling? Not quite. Superincomes can be associated with the market's underdevelopment and the lack of competition, in other words they are earned without any relation to labor effort. This is why they must be liable to harsher taxes.

The following dynamics are suggested: Incomes up to R90 are altogether tax-exempt; a lenient regime applies to incomes of up to R150; and incomes between R151 and R700 fall within the band of 13-percent income tax. Progressive taxation rises sharply from R1,500. This is how the progressive scale looks: The surtax is R2 on incomes of R800, R4 on R900, R11 on R1,000, R35 on R1,200, and R661 on R3,000.

When this draft law comes into force, it will abolish the USSR Council of Ministers' right to regulate taxation in the country and all the advantages enacted by it. The advantages themselves will apply not along territorial lines, but according to people's social status. Some 30 million people will fall within the "lenient" taxation band (incomes of up to R150). These will be mainly people on fixed incomes.

The draft law contains a series of innovations: There will be a mandatory declaration for creative workers, based on total annual income; a progressive scale will be used to tax additional incomes and sundry gifts worth over R200 or material assistance payments (in excess of R500). Tough sanctions are envisaged (doubling tax liability) for concealment of incomes or tax evasion.

Despite all this, however, we must repeat that the exchequer will not be any the richer. Furthermore, if the draft law comes into force as of 1 July 1990, its implementation through the year's end will require an additional amount of R2.3 billion in sundry subsidies.

The draft law on repealing the "bachelor tax" did not produce any special debates. It was introduced in the past in order to somehow compensate the losses of

widows and orphans. This channel now produces R1.4 billion of budget revenue. The draft law provides for the phased curtailment of unfair taxes, followed by their complete abolition. Moreover, the last ones to stop paying them will be citizens with the highest incomes.

One of today's topical questions concerns the creation of a ramified tax inspectorate in the country. The draft law elaborated in this context provides for the numerical strength of local financial organs to be boosted to 65,000 persons and to vest inspectors with extensive rights. The reorganization of this service will cost the exchequer R212 million. Expensive? It depends on how you look at it. According to experts' estimates, budget revenues during the first six months of the inspectorate's operations resulting from the inflow of tax on hitherto concealed incomes will amount to about R2 billion.

The last one in the package of draft laws is on the taxation of enterprises' profits and revenues. The draft is built around a standard tax rate for state and lease-contract enterprises. The maximum rate is 55 percent, including 30 percent into the union budget and up to 25 percent into republic and local budgets. Provision is made for a series of advantages encouraging technological progress, expansion of consumer goods manufacture, and environmental protection measures.

Deputies' group leader A. Saunin challenged charges by those who tried to raise doubts about the progressive nature of the draft law. I asked about the system of advantages envisaged for small firms. A. Saunin said that small enterprises will be exempt from taxes, and some tax advantages will be retained in the future.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Promises Balts Secession Talks

LD2802093890 Hamburg DPA in German 0818 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Soviet head of state Mikhail Gorbachev has promised the Baltic republics a start to negotiations on their possible secession from the USSR. Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, told this to DPA today in a telephone conversation from Tallinn. On Tuesday Gorbachev received two deputies each from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania for a discussion about this question.

Estonian Deputy Maryu Lauristin, speaking in the Supreme Soviet yesterday morning, urged a start to negotiations on secession, application for which was first made in an Estonian declaration on 2 February. According to Ruutel, Gorbachev assured the Balts in a 40-minute talk that the Supreme Soviet will air these questions when the law on possible secession is discussed in the parliament in Moscow. "This will not happen overnight, but when the law on secession is discussed in the Supreme Soviet," Ruutel added.

Lauristin said in the Supreme Soviet that the Estonian deputies had been authorized only to prepare the negotiations on secession from the USSR. For that reason they did not take part in the voting on the creation of the office of president in the Soviet Union. Estonian television, which late last night reported the meeting in the Krmelin, made the comment that this talk could be seen as the start to negotiations on secession.

Further on Gorbachev Meeting

LD2802110290

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1800 GMT on 27 February carries a three-minute report on a meeting between President M.S. Gorbachev and a delegation of Baltic deputies in Moscow on 27 February. Deputies Nugis and Lauristin were the two Estonian deputies in the delegation.

Recounting the meeting, Nugis says that in his view the talks with Gorbachev were not the beginning but the continuation of talks started last week with Arnold Ryutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Asked by the reporter to describe the talks with Gorbachev, Nugis says: "He told me that the talks imply a federation, which would be good and perhaps would have to suit everybody. But I know very well that you will not accept this. You will want to see your future outside the borders of the Soviet Union. Proceeding from this, we cannot resolve the matter any differently but in a legal way, that is, through the law, through a future law on secession from the Soviet Union.

"We defended our position; we said this law would not apply to us; we are talking about ending an annexation. The discussion on this subject was heated but also serious. And, in conclusion, I could say the following: At least one fact has been set down through Gorbachev's lips: We know that the Balts do not wish to be within the Soviet Union and we have accepted that. The issue is only in which format (?we can reach an agreement). And he stressed [words indistinct] that the form is starting talks from a federation, and yours, as I understand, is from an independent state outside the Soviet Union.

"We made it clear that we wish to resolve the issue proceeding from an international aspect, and he wished it from the domestic aspect. So the main thing is that the talks are in progress."

Draft Legislation for Seceding Republics Reported

AU2702195990 Paris AFP in English 1901 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 27 (AFP)—Republics wishing to secede from the Soviet Union will need to prove their case by a referendum and a vote in the Congress of People's Deputies, according to draft legislation reported here Tuesday. Radio Moscow's INTERFAX publication

based its report on a text due to be submitted to the Supreme Soviet, the country's standing legislature.

Republics wishing to break away will need first to win the referendum, then obtain final permission five years later by a two-thirds majority in Congress, which elects the standing parliament, or Supreme Soviet, and is the only body able to modify the Constitution. The referendum can be organised either by the republic's own parliament, or by one-third of its adult population, at least six months after the issue is first raised locally, INTERFAX said.

The results, which will be valid only if at least three quarters of those of voting age took part, will then be examined by the national Supreme Soviet and later by Congress. Both bodies will take a preliminary decision on the question. The consequences of the secession move for other republics, and on the nation as a whole, mean at least five years should elapse before a final decision, INTERFAX said.

During the waiting period, defence and security issues will be discussed, along with questions of finance and property concerning the republic and both its neighbours and the Soviet Union, the bill stated.

As for property, the text said the future of Soviet state property would take priority but that a number of options were possible. State-owned factories could be purchased or rented from Moscow, dismantled and returned to the Soviet Union or kept on the republic's territory and managed by the Soviet Union.

Banking relations would also need to be sorted out and methods of payment agreed, the bill recommends. A Baltic deputy indicated last week said that seceding republics should pay back certain enterprises in hard currency rather than rubles.

The text concluded by saying that Congress would take the final decision, taking into account all interests. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised last month that republics had the right to secede, during a visit to the Baltic state of Lithuania. He added that a bill outlining the methods would soon be ready.

The proposal is certain to provoke a bitter controversy, notably in the pro-independence Baltic republics—Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia—who are already anxious to start talks on secession.

New Political Parties Continue To Emerge

LD2802114490 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The de facto recognition by the CPSU leadership of other parties' right to exist has accelerated the process of their establishment in the USSR. The Socialist Movement Party, the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Anarcho-Syndicalist Party, the Christian Democratic Party—which, for the time being, do not have a large membership—and other new public organizations have already made their presence felt.

A resolution to prepare the constituent congress of the Free Labor Party has just been passed at the extraordinary conference of the USSR Union of Allied Cooperatives. The party will protect the interests of the new and fast emerging social strata, such as members of cooperatives and leaseholding peasants.

Laptev Elected Chairman of Journalists Union

LD2802110690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (TASS)—A plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists opened here today. It will examine further improving the activity of this organization and discuss problems connected with preparing to hold its congress. It will discuss its position with regard to the press law which is being formulated.

The plenum of the board approved the request of Viktor Afanasyev, former editor in chief of PRAVDA, to be released from his duties as chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists and elected Ivan Laptev, editor in chief of IZVESTIYA, to the post until the organization's congress, which will take place in May-June this year.

Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the work of the plenum.

Ryzhkov Views 'Complex Times'

PM2702225190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1

["Interview With N.I. Ryzhkov at the USSR Supreme Soviet 27 February Session" by political observer S. Karkhanin in Moscow: "About Priorities of Power"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] While discussing the prospects of a presidency in the USSR, participants in the Supreme Soviet session touch, in one way or another, upon the current problems of executive power. This is why this interview covered various topics sharing the common aspect of being topical for the country's political and economic life. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's political observer interviewed USSR People's Deputy N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Karkhanin] Nikolay Ivanovich, our conversation is taking place in the Supreme Soviet, and my first question is about the agenda of the sitting which has begun. What is your personal attitude toward presidential power in our country?

[Ryzhkov] I am not one of those who assume that the presidency is being introduced under the pressure of current circumstances which demand the consolidation

of order. It seems to me that we ought to look further. There is a need for balance between legislative and executive power, and therefore the meaning of the presidency is to ensure that the state functions normally today, tomorrow, and the day after. I have pondered all these questions very seriously and arrived at the conclusion that the document which is now being discussed here is perfectly balanced and we would be correct in adopting it. Although I am far from believing that there will be no need for amendments and amplifications.

It is obvious that the question of the head of state was not thoroughly thought out when we recently introduced amendments to the Constitution and created new structures for the supreme organs of power. It emerged that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet in essence became its speaker. Even though other persons could probably cope with these duties. The proposed documents suggest a way out of this situation.

I would like to emphasize yet again: It would be a major mistake to look at the presidency only from today's positions. Let me repeat: It is necessary to look much further.

[Karkhanin] But is it not likely that, if the office of president is introduced, the head of government will somehow be overshadowed?

[Ryzhkov] First of all, let us cast our minds back to the not so distant past: The most important questions were dealt with by party power and the Council of Ministers had to maintain relations with these organs. Much is being changed now, a regrouping is under way. And if a presidency emerges, the Council of Ministers will continue to perform its functions but, true enough, by "looking up" to the president much more. Generally speaking, the proposed drafts contain very few changes affecting the Council of Ministers, with the exception of several finer points like, for example, those associated with defense.

I think that the government has perfectly adequate powers and responsibilities; all it need do is to successfully resolve all necessary questions.

[Karkhanin] You have recently come under persistent criticism: What is your attitude to this?

[Ryzhkov] I cannot say that I am getting used to it.... In my view, I have never been soft, but I have never been a petty tyrant either. I have always tried to adopt a realistic attitude to life. I have nothing to be ashamed of: I worked 25 years at a plant, and 15 years in Moscow. Of course there are shortcomings, and plenty of them—the point is that there is much that we do not know. Today we are smarter than we were two years ago, society is now completely different, and the government is different. I am in favor of constructive criticism, but against groundless criticism whose objective, in my view, is to upset the government's equilibrium. But will society benefit if the government is dispirited? As for personal attacks, they are even less to anyone's credit.

[Karkhanin] Do you get the impression that even here, in the Supreme Soviet, there are people who, by delaying the adoption of some most important legislative acts, are willy-nilly destabilizing the situation in society?

[Ryzhkov] I do. It seems to me that some speakers do not wish to see any stabilization. Their objective is this: Let everything in the country continue going to the dogs. Is that permissible?

Incidentally, last Friday we held a sitting of the Council of Ministers, which was reported by the press. We laid down clear guidelines: Let responsibility for order at rallies be borne by their organizers. The government is prepared to examine any proposals, as long as they are constructive, and regardless of who submits them. I was just approached by deputies from the Committee for Economic Reform Questions—they have some ideas about improving the situation as regards leasing. We agreed that we will sit together and study them in the next few days.

About the "roundtable" mentioned at Sunday's rally. A case when one cannot understand what is at issue. We have yet to see the specific questions which it is proposed to discuss at this "roundtable." And just to sit around a table to make some noise together—that is beneath the rule-of-law state that we are building.

[Karkhanin] In your view, did the measures adopted by the country's leadership, and specifically the published appeals by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government, help to ensure that the mass actions on 25 February passed without any excesses?

[Ryzhkov] I find it difficult to talk about this—I am afraid of being subjective. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the people heeded us and understood us. People started taking a sober look. My personal opinion: The organizers of rallies, who had earlier started shouting about "millions of demonstrators," actually scared people off. The measures that were taken made it possible to hold a normal rally. The law enforcement organs behaved properly. I think that the rally organizers also got a few things clear in their minds.

And even ordinary people are beginning to figure out what is what, and that pleases me.

[Karkhanin] Nikolay Ivanovich, talk about the crisis of executive power is the height of "fashion" at the moment. What, nonetheless, is the explanation for the fact that departments and local leaders frequently fail to implement central organ decisions?

[Ryzhkov] I have a very definite opinion about this. In our effort to switch from one system of management to another, we are destroying the old system, while we are only just beginning to create the new system. Economic methods are not yet functioning, while directive methods are banned by law. And another thing: I believe that it is necessary to instill in people a respectful

attitude to authority. If people claim at every step that there is no authority, that it is discredited and all but in its death throes, as some people maintain, then this does not add strength to authority. Meanwhile what is happening is that, while we are talking about the rule-of-law state, we do not deem it necessary to enforce existing laws.

The "pressure exerted by disrespect" is not as harmless as it might seem. Take for instance the law enforcement organs. They have been thoroughly squashed, I would say, and what is more—squashed wholesale. The prosecutor's office, the militia, and the courts alike. It is perhaps high time to stop and think; I spoke about this at our session on Friday.

After all, these are complex times and they call for a well-balanced attitude and common sense. For instance, people are saying: The law on leasing which was adopted two months ago is not working well. I have to ask: "What do you want, do you want me to organize a second collectivization? Do you want me to tour the country and order everyone to become a lessee?" Laws, as a rule, are subject to inertia: People do not put their trust in them straight away; an implementation mechanism has to emerge. It does not happen that we wake up in the morning and everything has changed around us, everything is new, and people have changed, too. Generally speaking, these are complex times. However, I am an optimist.

[Karkhanin] People argue a lot about how the law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics is being implemented. What is your opinion?

[Ryzhkov] We have signed a document with the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the Baltic republics about their transition to economic independence in 1990. I believe that this is a great step forward. It is difficult to say how events will develop further, especially after today's speeches by certain deputies. Is the intention, perhaps, not to talk to the union government in the future at all? In general, it cannot be expected that completely new economic relations will come into being as from the beginning of the new year, say. Each enterprise has partners throughout the Soviet Union. The VEF [Riga Valsts electrotechnical factory] has 300 such partners, unless I am mistaken. Should all these contacts be disrupted with one fell swoop? That would simply bring plants to a halt.

[Karkhanin] Our editorial mail contains many questions about the implementation of the government program to improve the economic situation. Not much time has elapsed since the Second Congress, of course, but are there any changes for the better?

[Ryzhkov] There are changes, although we are not satisfied with the January results. The output of consumer goods has increased: by 12 percent in the course of one month, and some sectors have done even better—20 percent, for instance, in the case of the defense complex. The situation as regards food is not so good, the changes there are more sluggish. Why did we not achieve all we hoped for in January? I believe that one of the main reasons were the events in the Transcaucasus: Plants in Azerbaijan which operate within the system of national economic ties extending throughout the union were practically at a standstill.

I believe that, if it is necessary now to consolidate society around specific ideas, then we should rally around the common cause of improving our economy. We should all of us together seek ways to improve the situation.

We all recall the dramatic debate on our program at the Second Congress. However, it was adopted in the end. So let us get down to work!

[Karkhanin] There are many controversies about chemical production units. Who is to decide whether a specific plant is to be built—the government or local organs?

[Ryzhkov] I believe that this should be decided jointly, although most chemical plants fall under union jurisdiction. I take this opportunity to say: We must stop closing down plants! This is a cry from the bottom of my heart. We are aware that a complex ecological situation has taken shape. However, this cannot be rectified overnight! So what is happening? Last year we bought medicines worth 600 million rubles abroad. On credit, by the way. And now we are closing capacities for the production of an equal 600 millions' worth of medicines. Can we expect that this will increase the availability of medicines at pharmacies? It is nonetheless necessary to create new capacities before closing down old ones.

[Karkhanin] You mentioned the events in the Transcaucasus which, apart from all else, will call for major financial expenditure on the part of the government in connection with the needs of the refugees. Will it be possible to recover this expenditure from the budget of Azerbaijan, which allowed all this to happen? It is obvious that justice demands precisely this.

[Ryzhkov] It is true that it is necessary above all to compensate for the damage which people have suffered. There are 500,000 refugees in the country. It is true that the time has come to elaborate a program of assistance to people who have suffered as a result of interethnic conflicts. We have begun to compile this program: It will probably consist of individual programs for each republic where the conflicts took place. Enormous amounts of money will have to be spent on housing, the creation of jobs, children's establishments. The funding of the section of the program connected with compensation for damage suffered by refugees will have to be covered by the republics which people were forced to leave. You drove out the people: you must accept responsibility, including material responsibility. Will we get the republics to agree to this? If difficulties arise, it may be necessary to exercise authority in compiling the budget.

Reason Given for Price Reform Delay

LD2802123990 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Interviewed by an INTERFAX correspondent, Ivan Gorbachev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, said that the reform of prices planned in the USSR is being held back because, for the time being, no compensation measures have been ensured. These pertain to making good the costs the population will encounter following the reform. In Ivan Gorbachev's view, these compensation measures should apply, above all, to the least propertied strata of the population. As for the time scale of the reform, Ivan Gorbachev said that the new retail prices ought to be introduced by the end of 1992.

INTERFAX Said To Scoop Congress Platform

PM2102145790 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7, 18 Feb 90 p 2

["Moscow Diary" feature]

[Text] The U.S. press printed the text of the platforms of the CPSU Central Committee several days before the beginning of the plenary meeting, referring to the "well informed" bulletin of Radio Moscow. It is called INTERFAX, has come out every day since last summer and is delivered to subscribers only through telefax machines.

Kira Patakia, staff member of INTERFAX, told our MN correspondent that the bulletin was set up in Radio Moscow's office for foreign broadcasts with the active material support of Interquadro, a Soviet-Franco-Italian joint venture. All information is original. Due to its broad network of correspondents, INTERFAX very often comes out ahead of TASS. Kira didn't answer the question as to where they managed to get the draft platforms, explaining that it was a professional secret.

Medvedev, Maslyukov Speak at Propaganda Meeting

LD1602200490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee, a conference-cum-seminar has taken place of propaganda groups that are going to visit local party organizations for participation in the discussion of the central committee platform for the 28th party congress. Comrades Medvedev and Maslyukov addressed the participants in the conference.

Medvedev on Significance of Congress Platform

PM2802102590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Basis for Dialogue and Consolidation"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th Party Congress and its significance in the context of the present political and socioeconomic situation in the country were the main theme of the meeting 23 February between V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the collective of the Moscow Power Institute. During his tour of the science laboratories, departments, and auditoriums of the higher educational institution teachers and students showed great interest in the results of the CPSU Central Committee February plenum.

At a meeting with the institute's party aktiv V.A. Medvedev noted the broad range of public opinion on the platform. In discussions and speeches since the plenum the following assessments can often be heard: The platform takes a step to the left, then to the right, then it marks time. It would be more correct to say, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, that it is a step forward and, furthermore, a significant one which opens up new prospects for the perestroyka processes.

The most acute problems and contradictions which we have faced, the speaker went on, must not overshadow the real changes in society which have taken place in those years. Nor can we close our eyes to the mistakes which have been made and the gulf which has developed between the dismantling of the old and the creation of the new. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the perestroyka policy was correctly chosen and must be continued and pursued more consistently while criticizing and rectifying the mistakes and proceeding from our own experience of perestroyka. It was this idea which formed the basis of the CPSU Central Committee's precongress platform.

Of course, Medvedev noted, the platform is just the draft of the future programmatic document of the 28th CPSU Congress, and all the problems contained in it are open to discussion. It will be enriched and filled with new proposals and fresh ideas in the process of a broad partywide discussion and active social dialogue. We are inviting all social forces who are sincerely interested in perestroyka to take part in the broad discussion of it. The party does not lay claim to a political monopoly, is guided by the norms of the rule-of-law state, and is ready to hold a dialogue and cooperate on democratic principles with all who adhere to the positions of the socialist option.

The platform moves us forward considerably in the ideological and theoretical consideration of perestroyka and the understanding of the ways of moving from the centralist model of society to a humane, democratic socialism. It represents our view of socialism, the rule-of-law state, and civil society. In this respect the CPSU Central Committee firmly advocates the creative development of Marxism and opposes the denigration of the Leninist legacy and the frenzied denial of historical experience. The renewal of socialism and its new quality

cannot be attained without reliance on all that is beneficial in our history and world practice and on general human values.

In the economic sphere, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, we have raised fundamental questions on the transformation of ownership relations. The Central Committee Platform initiates the transition from state ownership to a variety of forms of ownership.

The platform sets out the party's view of the further improvement of the structures of state power. In this question attention is drawn to the proposal to introduce a presidential form of rule. This measure is sometimes linked solely with the worsening of the situation in the country and with present-day shortcomings whose elimination requires a more powerful authority. However, this issue goes considerably deeper. The need to introduce a presidential form of rule is dictated primarily by the very process of democratization and the establishment of the rule-of-law state.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt on problems of party reform. Some people, he said, would like to see in the platform a movement by the CPSU toward an amorphous state. But the Platform clearly marks the directions, principles, and mechanism of the radical renewal of the CPSU as a truly self-managing and viable organization and the consolidating force of perestroyka.

V.A. Medvedev answered numerous questions from participants in the meeting.

In the evening the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited Kalininskiy Party Rayon Committee, where he had a conversation with bureau members and a group of primary party organization secretaries.

Proliferation of Movements Hinders Democracy

PM2702114790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Parliamentary Correspondents V. Dolganov and A. Stepovoy under the rubric "On Topics of the Day": "'Collectivization' of Democracy?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] More and more new associations, parties, and blocs are appearing throughout the country every day, actively advancing and circulating for the masses their programs and platforms in support of democracy and the humanization of society. Everyone is for democracy! To a man. Find just one person (not to mention an organization or group) who would declare that he is against perestroyka and transformations, against building a rule-of-law state. You would think that so many new informal, in the good sense, structures have already been created that there will soon probably be one organization or, if the worst comes to the worst, one front for every inhabitant of the country. But come the next day—and two or three more movements appear which press people to join their ranks in the name of authoritative persons among the people, including USSR people's deputies as an indispensable attribute.

There is no doubt that this is a natural and normal process. We stayed silent for so long and hid so timorously (sometimes even from ourselves) "seditious" thoughts for which the system could have punished us immediately and mercilessly that it was necessary in the first place to breathe the air of freedom, as it were, to speak out, and to hold rallies to get out of our system everything that had not been fully said or said at all on all the previous "stages of the great path."

But time marches on. Some people even believe that it vanishes irrevocably, depriving us all of what may be the last chance to get onto the true path of civilized development. Without deviations or upheavals. Without a situation when brother moves against brother, when human life is cheap and all this has to be paid for in much blood. Time simply flies. While we....

Even in parliament there are new groups and unions, associations and clubs every session. They in turn fragment into smaller ones, with (once again!) their own program. Although, you might think, what is there to structure here? There are committees and commissions which have been set up in the Supreme Soviet precisely in order together to get the country moving again. But....

The impression is sometimes created that the entire adult and even teenage population is joining ranks, founding, meeting, listening, decreeing, and passing resolutions, and also resolutions on resolutions. In the name of the people!

But is this democratic? It is precisely this that you begin to doubt on closer inspection. You leaf through piles of decreeing and overturning papers and shuffle packs of appeals and manifestos, and you have one thought: Good lord, all this has happened before. We have been through all this before! Only in the past this paper sea of resolutions was created by powerful officials, by offices with monumental signboards at the entrance, waiting rooms, permit bureaus, and secretaries to important persons. But now people who had rejected those office customs have turned onto that same bureaucratic-apparatus path, seemingly without noticing when this happened. The classic bureaucrat simply rubs his hands to see the democratic movement become small and fragmented.

Judge for yourselves. Each **informal** organization begins by **forming** boards, coordinating councils and centers, and subordinate and cosubordinate structures. In some cases they already issue membership cards. Almost everywhere they collect subscriptions. A struggle is waged as to who is most important, significant, far-sighted, and weighty. In a word, more democratic. A secretary with an attache case or a cucumber case (remember the movie "Carnival Night"?) has become an invariable figure accompanying any leader of the informals and the "sole true fighters for perestroyka." And the process of winning the right to hold first place in the

uttering of truths is attended by such intrigues that yesterday's apparatus literally withers with envy.

And here is something else that is curious. Without having had time to "examine an organizational question" (the style, as you see, is a hangover, having been developed by the preceding office people), the informal formalists advance demands for an immediate dialogue at the highest level. What—the Supreme Soviet is busy adopting some laws? Never mind, it will break off, they say, to participate in a "roundtable." Or, if the worst comes to the worst, let it send the entire government. Few will agree to less. Know our scope! What do we care for the constitutional power that we ourselves elected!

But then you peruse the intellectual output of certain democratic fronts and movements, and you are dumbfounded. You see, everything or, at any rate, much has already been published in yesterday's newspapers. Moreover, a majority of declarations and demands migrate from one manifesto to another, being repeated literally word for word. The only difference is in the names of the organizations signing them. There is also another special feature: All overturn and reject the position of legislative and executive power, while proposing virtually nothing in exchange.

Things will never be better for anyone if, deafened by our own shout in defense of perestroyka, we forget the chief thing. Any progress requires, above all, action, competence, and professionalism, of which we have such an acute shortage. What is needed is not another collectivization (this time of the intellect, of the honest impulse of millions of people to do something to improve life) for the sake of new destruction but the first democratic creation in our history.

In this connection we invite people not to a rally but to co-contemplation.

Bakatin Opens Moscow Crime Prevention Seminar

LD2702103890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Opening speech by Internal Affairs Minister Viktorovich Bakatin at an international "Crime Prevention Strategy" seminar in Moscow; date not specified—recorded]

[Text] It is the first time that the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has organized such an imposing international forum. All the same, we hope that in this case there will be nothing to confirm the well-known Russian proverb which says that the first attempt is usually a flop. The Soviet Union speaks in the international arena in favor of increasing the role of the United Nations Organization which is demonstrating more and more its capacity for being a unique international center at the service of peace and security.

The notion of creating a common European home is gaining more and more supporters, and I think that our seminar will make its own modest contribution to the process of developing all-European cooperation as a whole, as well as to preparations for the eighth United Nations Organization Congress on Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders. Even at the start of the sixties, the principle of the preeminence of crime prevention was officially acknowledged as supreme in the Soivet Union in the overall concept of the activity of the law and order bodies. Unfortunately, however, it has frankly to be said that little was really done in this sphere, and today we are reaping the bitter harvest of our carefree attitude. It has to be acknowledged with complete openness that we are not satisfied with either the system of organization and the efficacy of crime prevention, or with its social, operational, and duty aspects. Only practical actions bear real fruit: A social prevention system determined by legislation and precise standards for regulating its functions in the interests of people and humaneness and in the interests of social justice.

Times are changing, and profound processes moving toward a humane and democratic socialism are under way in our country. The democratic processes of restructuring encompass the economy, politics, the social life of society, culture, and the spiritual sphere. Both political and legal reform are in process. Personal freedom is being acknowledged as the main value in life and respect for the law as the main guarantee of freedom.

I am no advocate of military terminology in the sphere of law and order. I do, however, think it appropriate to say that we, the law and order bodies, are in urgent need of a united front with the sphere of culture, of scientific learning, the religious sphere and borad-based forces of the public in order assert and to protect the rights and freedoms of the individual citizen from any encroachment.

Nina Andreyeva Hits Perestroyka at Moscow Meeting

PM2702095190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 90 p 1

[T. Khoroshilova article in response to reader's letter: "Nina Andreyeva Again"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] It is said that the well-known Nina Andreyeva continues to have many supporters and even takes part in conferences and rallies. [signed] S. Popov, Tula

Yes, the other day, for instance, the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editorial Office held a meeting with the public. Admittedly, the well-known writers who were supposed to have been the leading speakers did not attend it. Perhaps because Nina Andreyeva was among those invited.

The title of the meeting—"Russia—My Motherland"—set the theme for the discussion. It was stated at the meeting that Muscovites had lost the last elections for people's deputies: The deputies did not include people to defend Russia's interests.

The meeting raised the issues of equal economic and political rights for Russia with other republics. And the issue of Russian refugees, who currently do not have refugee status.

The time has come to build a common monument to both the Reds and the Whites who died for Russia—it was a common Russian tragedy, the critic Bondarenko stated. The people, who lost 40 million in the struggle against fascism, are now being rebuked for producing a threat of fascism.

Nina Andreyeva was greeted with ovations and flowers when she took the microphone. After giving her congratulations on the Soviet Army holiday and campaigning for the enhanced prestige of the "men in uniform," on behalf of the all-union "Unity" society she condemned the course of perestroyka.

"I embrace the future without, however, destroying the past. Today, too, our beloved Army, all our hope is once again on you!"

It is hard not to agree with the writer Vladimir Soloukhin, who spoke at the meeting, when he said that the word "patriot" now has to be said cautiously. It could immediately serve as a label of chauvinism or membership of the "Black Hundreds" [reference to armed antirevolutionary groups in Russia 1905-7; synonymous with extreme reaction]. But is this not why the actions of some of our contemporaries who haughtily call themselves "patriots" are increasingly often marked by an extremism which has never been characteristic of the Russian people?

Social Democrat Leader Expelled From CPSU

PM1502172190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Feb 90 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "You Cannot Sit on Two Stools"]

[Text] Orenburg—The primary party organization of Orenburg's I.S. Polbin Higher Military Aviation College has expelled Senior Lieutenant N.D. Tutov, a political worker, from the CPSU.

While a communist, Nikolay Dmitriyevich deemed it possible to simultaneously hold the post of cochairman of the Social Democratic Association, to which he was elected in the middle of January in Tallinn. Communists wanted to know what ideological and political position their party colleague actually held. There were phone calls. People asked which party N. Tutov now belonged to—the Communist Party or the Social Democratic Party.

At a primary party organization meeting in January he read out and then commented on material from the founding congress and excerpts from the association's statutes. The party organization came to the firm conviction that the Social Democratic Association is nothing less than a party, since it has declared itself a legal entity and has its own statutes, program, stamps, seals, insignia, and other paraphernalia and organizationally consists of union republic social democratic parties.

In this regard the CPSU primary organization deemed it incompatible for a member of the CPSU to belong simultaneously to two parties, one of which is an alternative to the other. There were 22 of the 27 Communists registered in the primary organization present at the meeting. The voting figures were: 17 for expulsion, 2 against, and 3 abstentions.

After examining the case, a party commission in the college political department confirmed the primary organization's decision. The wording of the expulsion was retained: "for breach of the CPSU Program and Rules and breach of the party's ideological unity."

After the session party commission secretary I. Banar said:

"I consider the commission's decision correct and objective. You cannot sit between on two stools. But Nikolay Dmitriyevich did not want to let go of either. And it was disadvantageous for him to leave the CPSU, because he is a political worker, and an unhealthy vanity overtook him out of the awareness that he had all of a sudden become cochairman of the new party. However, he lacks firm principles, as we were able to see for ourselves, otherwise he would have left the CPSU of his own volition—this was suggested to him in the primary organization and here at the commission. No wonder that Nikolay Dmitriyevich said several times—let us wait for the 28th CPSU Congress, everything will then become clear.... I don't know about others, but a USSR deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet should be more consistent and make clearer which party he feels closer to."

Economic

Medvedev Theorizes on Changing Ownership Relations

PM2602131990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Medvedev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee), under the rubric "Discussing the Draft CPSU Central Committee Platform": "The Nucleus of Perestroyka Processes. Concerning the Question of Transforming Ownership Relations"]

[Text] Radical transformations of the entire social system, rather than partial changes, are needed in order to enable socialism to gain a new quality that befits its social purpose. Socialism has no future without such transformations.

Perestroyka—as the draft CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th Party Congress makes it clear—is a

transition from the authoritarian-bureaucratic model of society to socialism which is democratic, humane, and socially oriented toward man, to socialism which is capable of self-purification and self-renewal.

Notions of socialism cannot remain immutable, just like socialism itself cannot remain immobile. In the process of its development, it constantly absorbs its own experience and the universal historical experience. There must be a corresponding ideological and theoretical self-renewal of socialism's principles.

I.

Ownership has ended up at the focus of the current stage of discussions concerning the problems of perestroyka. There is no doubt that the transformations of ownership relations are of crucial importance for the economic reform and for the country's economic development as a whole. The logic of life itself has led us to the conclusion that radical economic transformations are impossible without a profound restructuring of the relations of public ownership.

At the same time, the question of ownership goes far beyond the boundaries of purely economic problems. In essence, as M.S. Gorbachev noted in his article "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka," the transformation of ownership relations and the recognition of the diversity of socialist forms of ownership actually indicate a change of our views of socialism and predetermine the path of our society's further development, its theoretical model, and even its entire complexion. This is indeed a fundamental problem of perestroyka.

The essence of the current revolutionary changes in ownership relations consists of overcoming the established alienation of man from the means of production. This actual alienation is the main cause of the loss of dynamism in our development, of its slowdown and stagnation.

What actually happened? After all, the main objective of the turnabout in ownership relations which socialism was meant to implement was to eliminate man's alienation from the means of production which was engendered by private ownership. From its very beginning, Marxist theory perceived the socialization of the means of production as the process of reuniting them with man, a process which was disrupted by the capitalist expropriation of autonomous producers. Suffice it to recall that this was mentioned by Marx in Volume I of "Das Kapital," in the section dealing with the historical trend of capitalist accumulation. "Capitalist private ownership," he emphasized, "is the first negation of individual private ownership based on man's own labor. But capitalist production engenders its own negation with the inexorability of a natural process. This is a negation of the negation. What it restores is not private ownership, but individual ownership based on the achievements of the capitalist era: Based on cooperation and on shared possession of land and of the means of production produced by labor itself."

As we can see, K. Marx unambiguously interprets the socialist socialization of production as the restoration of individual ownership but, of course, on a qualitatively new basis. I am probably not the only one to feel somewhat confused on reading this passage: Why individual ownership? But this is evidently where the deep-rooted meaning lies. After all, the point at issue actually concerns the direct participation by each member of society in ownership of the means of production and of the product being created, participation in the management of production.

The socialization of the means of production was conceived also by V.I. Lenin as inseparably linked with full power by the people, self-management, economic accountability, the cooperative system, and leasing; in other words in forms which effectively overcome man's alienation from the means of production, from the product, from power.

Subsequently, however, development took a different path—the path of the growing statization of production. In theory and practice alike, the degree of the statization of economic processes was perceived almost as the main criterion for judging what is socialist. It was on this basis that a negativist attitude developed toward the cooperative system and other categories of joint ownership. [This and following additions are included in Moscow PRAVDA in Russian in its 18 February First Edition: "Matters even reached the point where economic accountability was perceived almost as some sort of retreat from socialist principles."] Furthermore, the state was losing its democratic foundations, detaching itself from man, from the urgent needs and interests of the masses, transforming itself into some sort of self-sufficient force placed above society, some sort of entity in its own right.

All this resulted in an historical paradox: Socialism, although meant to overcome man's alienation from the means of production, in essence and in our specific conditions reproduced this alienation with all the ensuing consequences.

But how are we to overcome the ensuing distortions of socialism and revert to its original mission? How are we to overcome man's alienation from economic life?

I am confident that our task actually is to restore the individual and collective incentives for labor which were seriously dampened as a result of wholesale statization. Therefore, we also need modern, efficient, and flexible forms for organizing social production, whereby socialist ownership gives scope to individual and collective interest and initiative which would be at least equal to those emerging on the basis of private ownership. It is important not to halt in the face of stereotypes from the recent past but to proceed only from the interests of the

cause, from the tasks of accelerating our economy's development and genuinely gearing it to man.

Some people assume that there is only one way out—a return to private ownership. Some people even end up in some state of euphoria about this. But if we were to remain with both feet firmly on the ground rather than reaching into the realms of fantasy, it would be impossible not to perceive that, even in the developed capitalist countries, private ownership in its classical variety is a past stage in the basic spheres of social production. It can be said that, in a certain sense, capitalism is overcoming it along various avenues. Specifically, a transition is under way—and has actually been accomplished in the basic spheres—to a joint stock form of capital whereby, as even Marx noted, private ownership seems to be overcoming its own self. In the strictly socioeconomic sense, this is no longer private but collective ownership, even though it retains its capitalist nature.

There is no need for us to regress, we must move forward: To realize the advantages of social ownership, giving it forms which would render the working people's specific tie with social wealth tangible and economically significant, forms which would make people interested in the actual results of production.

There are indirect, and at times even direct, proposals according to which there is only one radical way out—a return to private ownership—and they are occasionally backed by references to the law of the correspondence of production relations and ownership forms with the level of the development of productive forces. Indeed, it is necessary to proceed from the best possible way to take into account the effect of this classic law. But it must not be approached mechanically and crudely. The totality of social, organizational, and many other factors must be more fully taken into account.

It is also from this point of view that a return to classic forms of private ownership would be unjustified, at least in the national economy's basic spheres, because it would be a return to some already past stages of social progress. It would probably be even impossible. It is necessary to realistically work this out: What has resulted from ownership forms, and what has resulted from economic and labor culture, political stability, and so on. It is necessary to proceed from specific needs, from the real conditions of contemporary economic and social development. It would then become clear that a large-scale restoration of traditional private ownership not only lacks historical or theoretical justification, but is also not worth while in the pragmatic sense.

This does not mean that private ownership can be ruled out in our specific conditions. It not only can take its position in the system of multifaceted ownership forms, but is also capable of playing a considerable positive role in developing the worker's enterprise and initiative and boosting production efficiency. We need pluralism of ownership forms not in words but in reality. In this process, however, the main avenue of our society's development is provided not by private but by social ownership in, of course, a radically changed form.

This approach demands a radical transformation of state ownership, its conversion from bureaucratically owned state property into property which is managed by the working people themselves on democratic principles.

This would primarily involve leasing, not in the traditional sense but leasing of a new socialist variety. Various collectives would acquire the use and management of certain publicly owned objects, including land, and would autonomously run their affairs in their capacity as socialist commodity producers. They would make payments to society in the form of charges for resources and set taxes, with all the rest remaining fully at their disposal. These are lease relations ruling out the exploitation of man by man and being in essence socialist relations. This type of leasing could become the dominant form for socialist acquisition of the means and results of production, and would make it possible to awaken both collective and personal interest. This is the most developed form of economic accountability.

Of course, a fundamental democratic renewal of state ownership also requires certain general economic and social conditions without which leasing and other new forms of economic management would be unable to reveal their potential. This would mean state enterprises being able to stand on their own feet as commodity producers, it would mean the democratization of management.

There is understanding and accord as regards the autonomy and democratic nature of management in society. But the market at times still produces disagreement. Nonetheless, keeping to the ground of scientific logic and historical facts, it must be admitted that the market is one of mankind's eternal values. In itself, it does not presuppose exploitation, capitalism, anarchy, or spontaneity as its mandatory conditions or appendages. It is a precision instrument of rational economic management.

The fact that development of the market does not mean total decentralization is a different matter. The economic imperative of the 20th century is not just any market, but a regulated market in which, and with whose help, a given social, structural, credit, and monetary policy is pursued. And this policy should be energetic and effective.

Socialist social ownership could also be represented by collective ownership in the form of joint stock corporations or of enterprises based on cooperative, shareholding [dolevoy], or partnership [payevoy] principles. In this context, grassroot initiative must be completely unfettered and world experience taken into account without prejudice. [PRAVDA first edition adds: "Practice in many countries is familiar with corporations having individually and collectively held shares, with limited or unlimited liability, and so on. It is, of course,

impossible to overlook this experience when embarking on the utilization of the joint stock form."]

The efficient forms of ownership and economic management in a series of the economy's spheres include individual farms based on leased social land and closely associated with the forms of public sector farms. They also include private farms based on people's own labor in other sectors of the national economy, especially in the services sphere.

It is thus possible and necessary to seek a way out not by returning to capitalist relations but by imparting flexible and efficient modern forms to socialist ownership relations.

II.

Another expression of the absolutization of state ownership, which dominated our economic theory and our economic management practice, was the fact that the socialist state as a whole, regardless of the state system's real structure, was perceived as its sole subject. The state was treated as some sort of fetish.

We are now departing from past notions also in this regard. Not only the state as a whole, but also its various levels and links—the state as a union of republics, the republics themselves, and regions at different levels—are recognized as subjects of ownership by the whole people.

There is an extremely important principle, according to which republican and local organs of power lead socioeconomic development on their territories without interfering in the affairs of autonomous economically accountable enterprises and associations.

Enterprises must become in reality the basic production links, while their direct equivalent relations (regardless of their location) must provide the basis for shaping a union-wide market which will actually lay the economic foundation of all integrational processes, a foundation for the renewal and consolidation of our federation.

This treatment of ownership makes it possible to theoretically substantiate the economic autonomy and economic accountability of republics and regions. Moreover, the new system of economic relations between center and republics must be based on a clear-cut separation of their powers in dealing with various items that constitute assets belonging to the whole people, including planning, shaping of budgets, tax and credit matters, and price formation. This is what shapes the concept of the multilevel subject of ownership.

In this context, many items that constitute assets belonging to the whole people are controlled by the center, the republics, and in many cases also by local soviets (communes). This applies to the national economy's infrastructure, many base sectors, and natural resources.

Many people suggest that we go even further, without stopping at the recognition of republics as subjects of ownership—to altogether exclude the state at union level from the subjects of ownership. I think that this is an obvious departure from common sense, a break with economic and political reality and the trends of world development.

Take natural resources as an example. Obviously, there must be no abuse of the term "state ownership" as regards land and natural resources. But the natural environment is single and indivisible. The higher the level of the socialization of production and the fuller the inclusion of natural resources in economic circulation, the more important it becomes to have social monitoring of their rational utilization and preservation. It is no accident that there is an entire network of world social structures, a system of international ecological collaboration, without which the world community can no longer manage and whose importance will only grow.

It is that much more important for us, within the framework of a union state, to take this into account and, what is more, move forward instead of stumbling backwards. For example, it would be unnatural to try to divide the Dnepr River between three republics or to fragment the efforts on regulating processes associated with the Baltic Sea. How are water resources in Central Asia to be managed? What about other natural resources of All-Union importance? Should they be left at the monopoly disposal of union or autonomous republics? Would this be fair and sensible?

In brief, it would be realistic to adopt a multilevel approach toward defining the subject of the ownership of natural resources taking, of course, into account their specific features, an approach presupposing demarcation and combination of the forms of appropriation by the Union and the republics, and even by local organs which cannot be left out of this sphere, either. Otherwise, and from the economic point of view, the Union would turn into an empty form.

And now about the ownership of land. [PRAVDA first edition adds: "Let me remind readers that the nationalization of land in the conditions of Russia, and even in other countries, was perceived in Marxist literature and polemics as a most radical purge for the development of the economic relations of capitalism in agriculture. It clears away the accretions left behind by feudalism and patriarchal relations and blocking the free development of enterprise. In the conditions of the new system it also offers something else—a path for the socially fairest and most rational utilization of land. So, why are doubts being raised about this measure now?"] I assume that the recognition of land as a people's asset is in no way an obstacle to any promising forms for the running of agriculture, including the right to land use without time limits and even inheritance. There is hardly any need to erect private property barriers in land relations. Let me refer to Lenin's Decree on Land whose ideological wealth, I think, remains valid to this day. This decree, proclaiming the land to be a people's asset, recognized the most diverse forms of land management. We must

support sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms] wherever they are efficient and wherever rural residents are interested in developing and strengthening them. At the same time, each peasant must have the right to withdraw from a kolkhoz or sovkhoz, to receive a parcel of land, and to pass on this parcel and any means of production to his heirs.

And one more point. We have justifiably criticized the hypertrophy of state ownership. Indeed, that was a fetish which blinded us. Now we perceive state ownership in a more specific and pragmatic manner: As the participation of the Union, the republics, the local soviets, and so on in appropriation, management, and disposal. This is most likely correct too when applied to land and natural resources. But problems which evidently have not so much economic as political overtones are being introduced in the relevant debates.

Leaving aside the emotions which frequently dominate debates, the question of the ownership of land and natural resources can be reduced to two practical issues from the economic point of view. The first is the entitlement to rent income, the second is the right to utilize various natural resources and the land. Today the question is: Can the Union as a whole be even partly entitled to rent? I think that it not only can but also must. In exactly the same way as the Union can, to a certain extent, participate in regulating the utilization of natural resources. It is along this path that a legislative answer to the problems in question ought to be sought.

The course toward a diversity of forms of socialist ownership and economic management is not a tactical matter but a strategic line adopted "seriously and for the long term." It is unacceptable to absolutize any of these forms. It is important to find, for each one of them, the spheres where it would be capable of producing the best possible result. It is only in conditions of equal functioning, healthy rivalry, and integration that they all will produce the best results for the common benefit. Any form of ownership is socialist, provided it rules out the exploitation of man, proves in practice its high efficiency, and satisfies people's demands.

III.

The transition to a diversity of forms of ownership means at the same time the laying of economic foundations for society's democratization, the guaranteeing of citizens' freedom, and their choice of forms and methods to apply their capabilities.

The total statization and monopolization of ownership, having abolished the old forms of exploitation, resulted in curbs on the socioeconomic foundations of individual freedom, without which democratic institutions lost ground and new conditions developed for man. This situation hindered the development of *a society in* which the free development of everyone is a condition for the free development of all, the development of a real socialist democracy founded on the individual's real freedom.

The statization of ownership was accompanied by a totally centralized political system which prevented the development of a civic society's institutions, of true people's power. Max Weber was probably not far from the truth when, back in the twenties, he claimed that the statization of the means of production inevitably leads to bureaucratization of the economic sphere, to "dictatorship by functionaries."

The processes of monopolization of ownership and of power in our country seemed to march hand in hand, prompting and encouraging each other. The practical implementation of the model of political power enjoying "unity of will and action" required the alienation of people from all specific interests associated with ownership, with belonging to a certain social stratum. The statization of ownership and the implanting in public awareness of ideological cliches about the consequent absence of any social or class contradictions and problems demolished all obstacles along the path to the affirmation of the cult of state power as supposedly being the one that naturally expresses the ideals of universal good.

The dehumanization of economic relations was accompanied by dehumanization of political relations. The center's diktat in the economy was in line with the underdevelopment of federal ties and the utmost political centralization which left no real powers in the hands of organs of power at the level of republics, autonomous formations, oblasts, and so on.

The experience of the first few years of perestroyka graphically confirms that it is fundamentally impermissible to overlook society's integrity and the organic interconnection between all spheres of social life. The attempt to accelerate socioeconomic development clashed not only with the archaic and inefficient economic system whose main flaw was the fact that workers were deprived of the status of masters, but also with reaction by bureaucratized state and other political structures which were adapted to management by administrative edict methods. All this placed emphasis mainly on the task of synchronizing perestroyka in the economic and political spheres.

[PRAVDA first edition adds: "'The CPSU believes,' the draft CPSU Central Committee platform says, 'that the solution of current and long-term socioeconomic problems is inseparably linked with the radical economic reform.'"] Transformations in the political sphere have already produced tangible results. The situation remains more complex in the economy, the planned transformations are only now getting under way. This gap is dangerous.

Consequently, and in view of the prevailing conditions, the task is to close the gap that has opened up between transformations in the political and economic spheres. The strategic line here is to accelerate economic perestroyka without halting transformations in the political system.

Priority in both politics and the economy must be given to the multiplicity of spheres of life and interests of social forces, to the diversity of structures, views, styles, and so on. The contradictory nature of interests which is reconciled within the framework of the democratic process is a natural and, even more so, necessary component of social life, a most important condition for political freedom, social equilibrium, and economic efficiency.

Scientific

Heat Control Panels Come Loose From Soyuz TM-9

LD2702143490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Video report by correspondent Slipchenko from the Flight Control Center; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have told you all manner of things in the past in our space reportages, for example—unforeseen situations in orbit. Today, our correspondent reports on such a situation.

[Slipchenko] Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin are preparing to receive a routine Progress craft. For this purpose, they cleared a docking port and redocked their TM-9, as you saw yesterday. [video shows Mir complex from space, then head-on view of an approaching spacecraft, with what looks like three rectangular pieces of cloth flapping about at rear end of it] But what is this? When the camera showing the approaching craft was switched on, this is what was seen in the Flight Control Center—this usual view of a Soyuz, a quite standard Soyuz. But in addition to the aerials and optical instruments, there are three strange shapes on the Soyuz as seen on screen. Nothing has broken off, nothing has caught fire or exploded, there are no rags and tatters. But the panels, which are attached on Earth and held by clips, though they are all in one piece, have broken loose from their fastenings and straightened out in space under their own elasticity.

[V.D. Blagov, deputy flight controller, identified by caption] Why do we apply these covers to the descent module and other compartments of the Soyuz? In order to stabilize the outflow and inflow of heat. [Video shows Soyuz inside building, mounted in framework, with cover visible on spherical descent module at end]

[Slipchenko] Is it possible that some part of condensation could occur on the descent module or other part of the spacecraft which could affect the electric circuits, or contacts, or any of the pyrotechnics?

[Blagov] If the air temperature in the descent module or any metal structural element inside the cover and in contact with the air is allowed to fall below the dew point, that is about ten or nine degrees, certainly moisture will condense on these surfaces. We must not permit this, because this is not a very pleasant situation. If moisture gets into the instruments, well, some of them are sealed and protected, but others are not, so it would be hard to predict how they would continue operating. This places certain limitations on using the orientation regimens. So we are now selecting the minimum number of regimens. So in that sense, we are subject to limitations. But we can keep going indefinitely by keeping the temperature within set limits. But we have to pay for this in some way, for example, by reducing the number of some experiments which require other forms of orientation, which we cannot now use. In this connection, of course, we shall have to take radical measures of some kind to restore everything to its original condition. This is something which, it appears, will require the cosmonauts to go out into space. [video shows Slipchenko and Blagov talking, ends with final shot of the Soyuz approaching the docking port]

Journalists Disappointed About Space Flight Plans

LD2702185790 Moscow World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 27 Feb 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] Many Soviet journalists are disappointed with the unwillingness of the leaders of space departments to send one of their colleagues on a space flight. Their complaints were discussed at a roundtable session of editors of the central newspapers and recognized authorities from the Soviet space program. Leonind Gorshkov, a leading specialist in the Energiya firm said that it is virtually impossible to train a journalist for the flight in six months and it is risky to send one as a passenger. For their part, the journalists recalled that the country's leadership voiced a positive attitude to this project and that the training could have started long ago.

Soviet Rockets To Launch Australian Satellites

LD2702231690 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The Soviet space agency has reached a preliminary understanding on commercial launchings of Australian satellites by Soviet rockets of the Zenith class. The rockets will be launched from Cape York in northern Australia.

Military

Govorov Interviewed on Armed Forces Anniversary

LD2302153190 Moscow World Service in Russian 1026 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Interview with Vladimir Govorov, USSR deputy defense minister and head of the USSR's civil defense, by Moscow World Service correspondent, on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces; date and place not given; Govorov remarks recorded, questions summarized by announcer; from the "Soviet Chronicle" feature]

[Text] Soviet Army and Navy Day is 23 February. On that day 72 years ago, workers' combat squads, organized on a regular basis, took on German troops near the towns of Pskov and Narva and won the first victory. We asked Vladimir Govorov, USSR deputy defense minister and head of the USSR's Civil Defense to talk about the present state of the Soviet Armed Forces. The 72d anniversary of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces is being marked by conditions of perestroyka and the renewal of Soviet society. To what extent are these processes characteristic of the Army and Navy? our correspondent asked.

[Govorov] Perestroyka affects virtually all aspects of the life and activities of the military entity [organizm] too. This primarily involves reviewing our military doctrine, giving our military doctrine an exclusively defensive character, and bringing the combat potential of our Army and Navy within the bounds of reasonable sufficiency, and, in connection with this, of course, the reorganization of the administration of the Army and Navy is being carried out. Our armaments are being reduced. Questions are being reviewed concerning the training and upbringing of our personnel. At the same time, we are now paying very great attention to the person in the overcoat. We imagine that, as a result of the reforms that are being carried out in the Army and Navy, there will be an increase, above all, in the qualitative indicators of our Armed Forces with regard to the defense of our Soviet motherland.

[Announcer] Perestroyka in our country is characterized by the democratization of all aspects of public life. How are things in the Army in this respect? That is our correspondent's next question.

[Govorov] The question of democratization in the Army is now urgent. First of all, a review is now being carried out in our country of all military legislation. A law on the country's defense is being prepared. In the near future, our combined service regulations will be submitted for endorsement by the Supreme Soviet. These regulations, manuals, and the law will undoubtedly incorporate the broad democratic rights of our servicemen.

[Announcer] Our correspondent's next question was as follows. How are the tenets of the Soviet defensive doctrine given practical effect in the structuring and combat training of the Armed Forces?

[Govorov] Well, speaking concretely, I would like to say that, at the present time, the very structure of our Armed Forces has already changed most substantially. The border, internal, and railway troops have been removed from the composition of the Armed Forces. Our groupings of troops will be reformed in a defensive spirit. We have eliminated several administrations of military okrugs and armies. In accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, missiles in these classes are being destroyed. Our country has opted to carry out a unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces by 500,000 men. Suffice it to say that 240,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery guns, and 820 combat aircraft are being withdrawn from the composition of our military units in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland alone. Our servicemen's collectives are now concentrating on mastering primarily defensive fighting. At the same time, we are well aware that, in conditions both of a reduction now in the Army and Navy, and of a lowering of the military budget, we have to do everything possible to ensure a reliable guarantee of the security of our country and our allies.

[Announcer] But what do Army General Govorov and the leadership of the Soviet Armed Forces think of the prospects for the development of relations between East and West?

[Govorov] I remember a recent conversation with the American Senator Gore. Apart from purely professional issues, we spoke a great deal about our people's mutual assistance in emergency situations. We painfully recalled the earthquake in Armenia. Over 1,000 persons from six socialist and 12 capitalist countries took part in the search and rescue work. And it occurred to me that, if people can cast off their disagreements and stand shoulder to shoulder in defiance of the blind elements, why, then, could they not, on a single impulse, remove from mankind the more terrible disaster entailed by the arms race? So I take a very positive view of the prospects for the development of East-West relations. By extending the dialogue and raising the level of trust, I can see concrete ways of ridding mankind of the nuclear threat and preserving peace on earth.

Ceremonial Meeting Marks Armed Forces Day

PM2702150990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 90 First Edition p 1

[Unidentified own correspondent report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 72d anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy has been held at the Soviet Army's Central Academy Theater. Taking part in it were Great Patriotic War, Army, and Navy veterans, generals, admirals, officers, soldiers, Soviet Army workers and employees, and representatives of soviet, party, and Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations and of Moscow's labor collectives.

The meeting presidium comprised V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Kryuchkov, V.A. Medvedev, and E.A. Shevardnadze, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Army Generals M.A.

Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, and K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense ministers; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army Generals Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, and I.M. Tretyak, deputy defense ministers; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov; Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin; Army Generals V.L. Govorov, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Shabanov, and D.S. Sukhorukov; and Colonel General N.V. Chekov. Also present were Marshals of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, S.K. Kurkotkin, N.V. Ogarkov, and S.L. Sokolov, marshals of categories of troops, admirals, officers, and servicemen.

The ceremonial meeting was opened by Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee. A report was delivered by Army Gen P.G. Lushev.

Representatives of social organizations of veterans, young people, labor collectives, and soldiers' mothers congratulated the meeting participants on the holiday.

A ceremonial concert was held after the ceremonial meeting.

Tests Refute Rumors on Cruiser Radiation Levels

PM2702162390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 90 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Captain Third Class P. Ishchenko report: "Kirov at Base"]

[Text] Northern Fleet—Our newspaper has already reported that there is no foundation to the rumors about an unfavorable radiation situation aboard the nuclear missile cruiser Kirov, which has been on a long voyage. The cruiser is now anchored at the Northern Fleet's main base. This fact alone shows that the ship poses no threat to the environment.

The same thing is shown by the results of the radiological survey of parts of the city of Severomorsk and the cruiser Kirov carried out 21 February by the city's nature conservation committee and the fleet military prosecutor's office. Gamma radiation was 11 microroentgens per hour near the naval railroad station and 15 microroentgens per hour near the "Vayenga" Hotel (in the city center). The measurements made aboard the cruiser Kirov also fluctuate within the limits of the natural norm—which is four-20 microroentgens per hour. Moreover, the previous checks using individual radiation meters by specialists servicing the nuclear power plant confirmed that none of them had received a recorded dose—that is, a dose in excess of the radiation meters' minimum sensitivity.

Baltic Republics

Estonia Decides on Moves Toward Independence

PM2702154390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Leonid Levitskiy: "Session Will Be Continued"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution "On Preparing for Estonia's State Independence."

The 15th Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Session, 11th convocation, did not seem to presage any surprises. But they began during the discussion of the very first item on the agenda—the approval of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees.

One of them was the decree "On Forming the Commission for Questions of Estonia's Political and Economic Independence." But there soon followed a proposal to adopt a resolution "On Preparing for Estonia's State Independence." The draft resolution had evidently been prepared at the last moment, and the deputies discussed it "by ear." It was adopted by a majority of votes.

It is essentially an appeal to the next Congress of People's Deputies to examine the question of the legitimacy of the law "On the Admission of the Estonian SSR to the USSR," adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet 6 August 1940, since the "Declaration on Estonia's Joining the USSR," adopted by the State Duma of Estonia 22 July 1940, was not a free expression of the will of the Estonian people and, consequently, is deemed invalid. The legal basis for this conclusion, the resolution points out, is the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's assessment of the events that occurred in Estonia in 1940 and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolution "On a Political and Legal Assessment of the 1939 Soviet-German Nonaggression Treaty."

The Congress of People's Deputies is instructed to begin official talks between the USSR and the Estonian SSR on the restoration of Estonia's "de facto" independence based on recognition of the validity of the Tartu peace treaty.

Another point from the resolution: "The USSR Government is to be informed of the Estonian SSR's wish to participate in the Second All-European CSCE as an independent state..."

Since a considerable proportion of the deputies were not ready to discuss the resolution, this evidently gave rise to the statement by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Power and Civil Rights in Estonia, which was read out after the break. It points out that the acceleration of activity to achieve state independence, the blocking of a number of union acts, the demonstrative increase in activity by right-wing organizations and groups, and the discrimination against servicemen and the militia have sharply exacerbated the situation and are creating preconditions for direct confrontation among various political forces. The committee proposed that the Estonian SSR Government provide information on measures to ensure law and order in the republic and the population's safety...

Another surprise. The deputies did not approve E. Savisaar, leader of the People's Front, as minister of economics.

The draft law "On Changing Articles 6 and 7 of the Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)" was discussed. The law was adopted. Henceforth the existence of a multiparty system in Estonia is recognized constitutionally.

The session did not complete its work. Its next sitting will be held at the beginning of March. It is planned to sum up the results of the Supreme Soviet's work during the entire convocation and to examine questions which might be raised at the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies.

Latvian Law on State Symbols Effective 27 Feb

LD2702132190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] A law on Latvia's new symbols of statehood came into force today. A red-white-red flag has been raised on the Latvian Supreme Soviet building. The flag has a history of several centuries. The ceremony was accompanied by an old popular prayer which has again become the national anthem, as it was before. Deputies to the future parliament will be welcomed in the auditorium by heraldic representations of a rising sun, a lion, and a gryphon. The republic will know the names of its deputies after the elections, set for 18 March. As reported by the Central Electoral Commission, on average there are two candidates per seat.

Latvian Rayon Urges Referendum on Secession

LD2802112990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Sajudis information report]

[Text] The local Soviet of Peoples Deputies of Daugavpils, which consists primarily of representatives of the Latvian Interfront, adopted a decision to hold a referendum in the rayon on the day of elections to the Latvian Supreme Soviet concerning the rayon joining the RSFSR or Belorussia.

A protest was launched by the Duma of the Latvian People's Front against this decision, saying that only the Latvian Supreme Soviet has the right to declare a referendum.

Anticommunism Seen in Lithuanian Campaign

90UN0999A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 7, 17 Feb 90 p 2

[Commentary by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent V. Burbulis: "A Parliament Without Communists?"]

[Text] **The election campaign for the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet is in full swing. There are 3.7 candidates contending for each deputy seat. In other districts six to eight aspirants are vying for each position. There are 522 registered candidates contending for 141 seats in the future Lithuanian parliament. The elections will take place on 24 February.**

The first stage of the electoral campaign (the registration of candidates) confirmed that the multi-party system has become a reality in the republic. Of the 522 candidates, 219 are members of the independent LiCP [Communist Party of Lithuania] and 91 are members of the LiCP conforming to the CPSU program. There are 21 candidates representing the Social-Democratic Party, 18 for the Democratic Party, three Christian Democrats, and four "Greens." Servicemen are not taking part in the elections because this was decided by the republic's Supreme Soviet two sessions ago. True, those officers and members of their families who are able to claim Lithuanian citizenship have the right to vote.

And now the most heated period of the electoral campaign—the pre-election battle for the voters' sympathy and votes—is taking on, to put it mildly, a somewhat unseemly character. A "witch hunt," i.e., for communists, has begun and the persecutions are going on everywhere. The opponents' boomerang is hitting both the independent LiCP and the LiCP conforming to the CPSU program in equal measure. The most popular newspaper in the republic today is LETUVOS RIGAS ("Lithuanian Morning"), the newspaper of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee. Its circulation is more than 500,000. It is impossible to accuse the newspaper of subjectivity. In the 8 February issue the leading article, entitled "Is a Party of Priests Possible?", states: "There are many examples demonstrating an intensification of the anticommunist mood in 'Sajudis.' One of these is the 'Sajudis' pre-election conference which took place on 3 February 1990. One may draw this conclusion not only from the general atmosphere of the conference but also from the way the communist candidates for the Supreme Soviet were greeted (and the 'Sajudis' people as well—correspondent's note). When the nonparty people, the Social Democrats, the Democrats, and the 'Greens' were presented, the audience (more than 3,000 delegates) burst into applause which at times became ovations. But when the Communists were presented, commotion reigned in the hall. It did not subside even when they presented such people as R. Ozolos and E. Vilkas (members of the LiCP Central Committee Bureau who are independent of the Sajudis—V.B.). The impression was given that any noncommunist is an acceptable person, while any Communist is undesirable."

The quote from the newspaper is, very probably, a little long. But it reflects the reality in Lithuania today. I have not even mentioned the great persecutions of the LiCP conforming to the CPSU program. There are many tendencies in "Sajudis." The majority of its members are sensible people; but there are also those who hide behind its thinking.

And now voices have begun to be heard louder and louder in the dust of the election contest—voices which demand "a Lithuanian parliament without communists." And the candidates for deputy themselves, whether or not they are Sajudis, say these same words officially on Lithuanian television on programs set aside for the elections. A few days ago one of them called the LiCP a "party of cutthroats," which of course elicited a storm of indignation among the majority of the republic's population. Many in Lithuania today, and especially some of the candidates, like to speak in the name of the homeland, God, and justice. And they immediately accuse, deny, and even threaten to make short work of the "Reds." They accuse them according to the principle of "they are all the same." However if we are to judge that way, then we will end up at extremes. "They" can be Communists or "they" may just as well be any other party or community at large. And finally, "they" can even be the Lithuanians. I am very sorry that this thought and these words belong not to the author of these lines but to that same newspaper LETUVOS RIGAS. But I am in complete agreement with it. It is time to stop the disorderly conduct. No good will come of it.

Lithuanian Report on 1939 Treaties

90UN0991A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 8 Feb 90 p 3

[Report by Deputy Juras Pozhely, commission chairman and president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences: "On the Findings of the Commission for Inquiring into the German-Soviet Treaties of 1939 and Their Consequences"]

[Text] The 13th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] heard information on the work and the findings of the Commission for Inquiring into the German-Soviet Treaties of 1939 and Their Consequences.

Allow me to mention them in a condensed form. The commission established that the secret supplemental protocol to the German-Soviet non-aggression pact and subsequent secret agreements contradicted the fundamental universally recognized principles of international law and are absolutely invalid from the moment of their signing, i.e., they are worthless.

The treaties between Germany and the Soviet Union and the secret protocols for them, and also their implementation, predetermined the loss of the sovereignty and

independence of the Lithuanian Republic and its inclusion in the structure of the USSR.

Germany and the Soviet Union, in concluding and implementing these illegal treaties, violated many propositions of international law and multilateral and bilateral agreements and treaties with respect to Lithuania. This included gross violations of Article 1 of the 1920 peace treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia [recognition of the sovereignty and independence of Lithuania] as well as Article 5 of the treaty [guarantee of Lithuania's neutrality given by Soviet Russia].

Relying on historical and legal material set forth in published documents, the commission concluded that the "Declaration on Lithuania's Entry Into the Structure of the Soviet Union," which was adopted by the People's Sejm on 21 July 1940, and the corresponding Law of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 3 August 1940, were illegal.

These findings of the commission should be considered a pronouncement of historical truth. Of course, historical truth rarely is favorable to all participants of events, especially when secret deals are concluded. Generosity and humanism do not require secrecy. Inconvenient truth cannot be kept quiet! We do not have a right to let any lie, hypocrisy, or hushing up go unnoticed.

The Lithuanian public awaited the findings of our commission and, in fact, approved them, by asserting the urgency, importance, and necessity for this document through the actions of the "Baltic path" of 23 August of last year for which, in the words of the esteemed Justinas Martsinkyavichnos, "We are obligated to bow to the people, to all Lithuania, which displayed such unity, cohesion, solidarity, and such resoluteness of spirit, the likes of which it did not demonstrate to the world over the course of its entire history." And more, because, after the demands to declare the secret treaties between Germany and the USSR invalid, the signatures of more than 1.5 million Lithuanian residents were collected. This attitude was expressed not just by Lithuanians.

I want to mention that the deputies who participated in the 13th session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the decree on the commission's work by an absolute majority of votes.

It was decided to take into account the conclusions that were reached, and it was proposed that the commission continue work on researching the historical facts associated with the events of the years 1939-1940 in Lithuania.

Our commission once again analyzed and weighed the former findings, and it did not change them; but it prepared an additional reference in which an evaluation is given of the legal acts adopted in 1940 by the president, the government, and the People's Sejm of the Lithuanian Republic. It is emphasized once again that the illegal acts committed by the Soviet Union on 14-15 June 1940 (a baseless ultimatum and the introduction of an additional and unlimited Red Army contingent) were aggression, occupation of Lithuania, and subsequent annexation.

After deploying numerous armed forces over the entire territory of the Lithuanian Republic, and after taking advantage of the political and social tension that had built up during years of an authoritative regime, the USSR on that very day, 15 June, sent its representatives to Lithuania and began directly and illegally to interfere in its internal affairs.

The demands of the government of the USSR to immediately change the government of Lithuania grossly violated the universally recognized principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of states. The government was removed by manipulation of the 1938 Lithuanian Constitution, which was in force. Because of a peculiar interpretation of the fact of the departure of President A. Smetona abroad, the change of the government occurred without a formal violation of the constitution, and the makeup of the government was dictated by representatives of the USSR. Despite the resistance by some of its members, the new government hurriedly promulgated a law on elections to the People's Sejm, using an undemocratic 1936 law on elections to the Sejm and introducing insignificant corrections to it, and it organized the Sejm elections. This Sejm was supposed to create the appearance of the legality of the annexation.

The Sejm elections themselves were not democratic. At the time of the voting, pressure, threats, and falsifications were brought to bear, and prominent figures of a possible opposition were arrested the day before the elections.

The election platform, which was dictated by emissaries of the USSR and published on behalf of the "Union of the Working People of Lithuania," did not talk about adding Lithuania to the Soviet Union. Therefore, by participating in the Sejm elections the inhabitants of Lithuania did not empower the Sejm deputies to adopt a decree about Lithuania's joining the USSR.

By adopting the 21 June 1940 declaration concerning Lithuania's becoming a part of the USSR structure, the Sejm not only overstepped the line of the platform that was announced to the voters but also exceeded its constitutional authority. It is written in Section 2 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the Lithuanian Republic that the sovereignty of a state belongs to the people, not to the president or to the Sejm. According to the Constitution, the Sejm was an organ of limited jurisdiction. It was in no way empowered to make a decision on national statehood; i.e., it was not a spokesman of constituent force.

Therefore, even the adoption of the declaration on Lithuania's joining the USSR structure was the act of a state organ that did not have constitutional authority.

The Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for Inquiring Into the German-Soviet Treaties

of 1939 and Their Consequences considers that its work is finished, and it proposes that the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopt the submitted draft decree. I will comment on it briefly: The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic:

Acknowledges the findings of the Commission for Inquiring Into the Soviet-German Treaties of 1939 and Their Consequences.

Condemns the aggression against Lithuania and its occupation and annexation, as international crimes which were committed by the Stalinist Soviet Union in 1940 by implementing Stalin's secret agreements of 1939 with Hitler's Germany. I think the deputies are familiar with the document-act of transmitting the originals of the secret protocols of Molotov's secretariat, which attests to the fact that their existence in the USSR archives has been established, although we have talked only about their being in foreign archives. The act is dated 1946.

Considers that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, by a 24 December 1989 decree, acknowledged that these secret agreements are judicially untenable and invalid from the moment they were signed.

Strives to eliminate the consequences of these agreements for Lithuania and to restore the violated rights of the Lithuanian state and the Lithuanian people, which Soviet Russia recognized on 12 July 1920 as eternal, in a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania.

The Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To proclaim as illegal and invalid the declaration of the People's Sejm of Lithuania concerning Lithuania's joining the USSR, which did not express the will of the Lithuanian people.

2. To announce that the 3 August 1940 USSR law "On the Acceptance of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", which is based on the 21 July 1940 declaration by the People's Sejm of Lithuania, is invalid and subject to abrogation.

Esteemed deputies, the adoption of this decree and the implementation of its propositions have an enormous significance for the Lithuanian people and people of other nationalities who live in Lithuania and for the way to restore statehood and independence.

The adoption of this decree clears the way for the beginning of negotiations by the highest organs of authority in Lithuania and the USSR for the purpose of restoring friendly relations between the states on the basis of the 12 July 1920 peace treaty of Lithuania and Russia. Following this path to independence, we are all obliged in principle to achieve the quickest restoration of Lithuania's statehood.

The restoration of political statehood and independence cannot wait until all questions of economic independence are resolved. The restoration of statehood is just what is needed to strengthen our positions on the way to economic independence.

The criminal act of incorporating Lithuania into the structure of the USSR in 1940 has no term of limitation. Not then, now, or in the future did anyone give or can anyone give newcomers the right to control the country, which we inherited from our forefathers, and its lands and wealth. We must restore Lithuania's statehood and return our ancestor's land, which belongs to the Lithuanian people, and turn it over to our children and grandchildren.

Esteemed deputies! I ask that you approve the full findings of the commission and the submitted draft decree.

Lithuanian Election Official on Election 'Boycott'

LD2602160390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Interview with Vladimir Ivanovich Borin, chairman of electoral commission of Snieckus constituency No. 108, by journalist Vasiliy Bogomolnikov—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Bogomolnikov] Vladimir Ivanovich, we know what happen in Snieckus. But what about the details?

[Borin] I can reply as follows: The elections in Snieckus are recognized as not having taken place. The point is that from a total of nearly 20,000 voters only over 7,000 people voted. According to the law, the elections in this case are invalid. This happened in our constituency.

[Bogomolnikov] Why were the electors in Snieckus so passive?

[Borin] I would not say that. I think that in this boycott of the elections there was a kind of activity, but an opposite activity. The point is that there are many reasons. First of all, many electors did not like the fact that the elections provided no choice. We all know that at the beginning we had two candidates; then one of them, Archbishop Antoniy, was transferred to work in another republic and as a result one candidate remained. People did not like it.

The second reason—and the most important—was that the platform of candidate Sergey Pirozhkov was not to the liking of the people; therefore, democratic forces, which were set up and registered in Snieckus as a democratic club, called on the electors in Snieckus to boycott such an elections. And the people responded.

[Bogomolnikov] Briefly, tell us about Pirozhkov's program.

[Borin] His program did not differ from the program of other deputies. It was the usual selection which is in the

program of all deputies. But Comrade Pirozhkov's program included one point which the Snieckus electors did not like. This point was that if the political situation in Lithuania exacerbates and the rights of national minorities are violated, the Snieckus deputy would demand in the Supreme Soviet an autonomy for Snieckus. This point, in my opinion, played a decisive part in his fate as candidate deputy.

[Bogomolnikov] What kind of deputy would you like to see?

[Borin] I think today we need a candidate deputy from Snieckus who could be able to unite in his program the aspirations of various groups of the population and propose some compromise decisions. Today is the time of compromise. This may be difficult; but it is essential to look for conciliation, not confrontation. This does not mean that if the republican Supreme Soviet adopts some laws which infringe upon the rights of the Snieckus residents, one should agree with it. It is essential to criticize, it is essential to prove that the Supreme Soviet is not right, it is essential to demand amendments and corrections, but not to proclaim autonomy.

[Bogomolnikov] What is the assessment in Snieckus of the fact that one candidate has been transferred to another place?

[Borin] You see, there has been much talk about it in Snieckus and various rumors, such as in Vilnius and other parts of Lithuania. I conversed with Archbishop Antoniy before his departure. It was a very interesting talk which lasted more than an hour. He denied all rumors. He regarded that it was the right of the Holy Synod of the Moscow Patriarchiate to transfer him to another post. And in Snieckus, people regarded this as an attempt to remove a candidate. Others were of a different opinion, but the general opinion was that we were left in this situation without any choice.

[Bogomolnikov] Snieckus must have a deputy. What do you think will happen?

[Borin] I would say that the elections last Saturday were not party elections. They provoked the interest of the residents in the very procedure of the elections, the mechanics of the elections. People boycotted the elections consciously. I think if the situation in the repeat elections is different, they will take an active part in them, and they will take an active part in the nomination of candidates. I think so. Maybe I am wrong, but that is my opinion. It is probably that in the repeat elections we will have five or six candidates. I do not think there will be only one or two candidates; there will be more. [passage omitted]

Government, Parties Asked To Halt Vandalism

LD2402114690 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Chairman of the governmental Nationalities Committee, Halina Kobeckaite, and the leaders and representatives of the 12 ethnic communities in Lithuania have released an appeal to the Lithuanian government, political parties, and all the inhabitants. It expresses concern over the ever more frequent acts of hooliganism which sometimes turn into overt vandalism. The objects of attacks are state flags, kindergartens, schools, monuments, and cemetries. Such acts are most often interpreted as organized nationalist and chauvinist offences.

The Lithuanian Government, all political parties and the public at large are urged to stop the wave of negative tendencies. The public's attention is drawn to the need to perceive its historic responsibility for the present, and at the same time, future independent Lithuania.

5,000 in Vilnius Hand in Military Draft Cards

LD1702032990 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpts] In Vilnius, the celebrations of the day of independence were begun at the students' center. [passage omitted]

At 6 pm an action of handing in military cards began. Leaflets circulated here and there throughout the city urged everyone to prove that they were ready to work for Lithuania's independence not in words but in deeds.

The appeal says it is shame on those Lithuanians who on this sacred day would not refuse to serve the occupants. There were no calls made during the very action of handing in military cards. The people encircled a table with a ballot box. Soon it was filled up and the rest of the documents were just placed on the table. Those ready to return military cards also signed under an appeal to the Soviet Defense Minister, which among other things says that the 1949 Geneva Convention granted the right to refuse to serve in an occupationist army and therefore the pressure from the (?power) authorities should be viewed as a gross violation of the international law and human rights.

As it was said later in the Cathedral Square, 5,000 young people returned today their military cards. [passage omitted]

RSFSR

Yakovlev on Democratic Platform, Marxism-Leninism

LD2102163690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] The title of the "Morning" program makes journalists turn to events which will determine the present day. But there are topics which attract attention for more than a day or two; their significance for us is so great. One of these at the moment is indisputable the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress.

The role of the document for the prospects of perfecting socialism was a topic of discussion yesterday at a meeting between Comrade Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and students of the Moscow Higher Party School. Describing the platform adopted at the February plenum, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev said that the document grew out of the experience of perestroyka. Here are his replies to some of the notes:

[Begin Yakovlev recording] What is your attitude toward the Democratic platform and their program proposed at the February plenum by Comrade Yeltsin?

Well, what is my attitude? I have read the platform. In principle I don't consider it impossible for any group of communists to come out with any platform, especially a communist one, within the framework of the Communist Party. Incidentally, this isn't the only platform which the party Central Committee has received; there are many such platforms. But this is what I thought after reading this platform carefully:

In many points it coincides with the CPSU platform, but I think that this Democratic Platform is narrowed down to the party alone. I believe that if we are speaking of a party that wishes to be a vanguard of all society and wishes to play a vanguard role, it should also speak about social problems, that is of society's problems on a wider plane. I believe that if any platform, of any party, restricts itself to intra-party matters alone, then it cannot exist properly, for a long time and effectively.

Second, it seemed to me that the formulations of this platform, whatever it's spirit, if you like, or atmosphere, and casting aside any predudice and reading it completely calmly just like any document with a right to exist, it seemed to me as if there was some germ of a split there. For example, I would welcome it if that platform became an integral part, where - it would fit in somehwere as a basis of discussion and debate, of the general CPSU platform. As a subject for discussion, for debate, I believe that it is totally acceptable.

How do you work on your scientific publications; like everyone else, or...? I don't understand the "or." I take a pen, I take paper and begin to write, if I know something. If I don't know anything then I don't sit down. That's all.

At a meeting of the Moscow group of Democratic platform, (Lysenko), one of its theorists, stated that you had said at a meeting (?at Moscow University) that you didn't know what Marxism was. Is that so?

Yes, but not like that. I can repeat what I said. I said that I understood what Marxism was, that I understood more or less, like all of you, because no one is likely to be so audacious or arrogant as to say that he knows perfectly. I understand more or less, to the extent of my abilities and education, what Leninism is. But I don't understand why there's a hyphen between them. This is one of Stalin's inventions. Marxism hyphen Leninism. Think it over. [laughter and applause] That's my viewpoint. Well, possibly it's wrong.

Do you have relatives back home, and if so, who are they? [laughter] Yes, there are some left. I have three sisters. One works as a worker with her husband at the petroleum distilling works at Yaroslavl. The second one and her husband are in Rostov Yaroslavskiy. She's a teacher and has just retired. The third is in Uglich. These are all my family secrets. Our parents' house is still there and we all gather together there each year, including the grandchildren—that's in a workers' settlement called Krasnyye Tkachi, 14 km from Yaroslavl on the main Moscow road. Come and visit us! [laughter] [end recording]

There were a great number of questions to comrade Yakovlev, and there were just as many replies. We have let you listen to just three [as heard] of these, but maybe you have been able to see the member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo from a new and unusual viewpoint.

RSFSR Presidium Supports Presidency Proposal

LD2702174890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT27 Feb 90

[Text] The results of activity by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet and its Presidium at the 11th convocation were reviewed today at a Presidium session. The Presidium supported the proposal, expressed in the platform of the CPSU to the 28th CPSU Congress, on the introduction of presidential rule and the post of president, Soviet head of state, in the USSR. The question of readiness for elections of people's deputies of the RSFSR, autonomous republics, and local soviets was heard. Considering the numerous proposals from citizens and public organizations on the adoption of decisive measures for stepping up the campaign against abuses in trade and speculation, the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted on this question a decree which will be published in the press. Certain other questions of the republic's state affairs were examined. The session was conducted by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Artillery Stolen For Sale in Chita

LD1002122690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 9 February, during the "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a 4-minute report by A. Bardo from Chita on the theft and attempted sale for commercial gain of artillery pieces. The video shows the pieces that were nearly sold.

Bardo says representatives of a Chita cooperative, having hitched a howitzer to a motor vehicle, calmly took it out of the terriotory of the polytechnic college

garage in broad daylight. But for the action of staff of the department to combat organized crime of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the same fate would undoubtedly have befallen the second gun.

Bardo then interviews S.V. Zakharenko, deputy procurator of the Chita garrison, on how these guns could have been missing for so long. Zakharenko explains how guns that are no longer in use by the armed forces are given over to educational establishments for use in patriotic education. He says the Ministry of Internal Affairs is responsible for them and that it is not possible to use such weapons for military actions. Bardo says that the events in Transcaucasia bear witness to the opposite and notes that the procurator's office is investigating "that unprecedented incident."

"However, I think that the following statistics are appropriate here. Last year, four pistols, a submachine gun, five combat grenades and hundreds of rounds were stolen from the Chita garrison," Bardo says in conclusion.

Baklanov, Lizichev Comment on Kirov Oblast Visit

PM2102124990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 First Edition p 1

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Major I. Ivanyuk report: "Reviving the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone"]

[Excerpts] With its decisions the CPSU Central Committee February plenum set out, as it were, a new system of coordinates in which every communist determines his position and everyone together must elaborate a common effective program of resolute and rapid actions to renew party work.

This was the vein in which meetings between O. Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and the Kirov Oblast party-economic aktiv, the command and political personnel of Kirov Garrison troop units, defense enterprise workers, and soldier road builders took place. The CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th Party Congress was discussed in a vigorous and interested manner at these meetings along with many problems presented by life. [passage omitted].

Army General A. Lizichev devoted particular attention to the problem of providing officers and ensigns and their families with housing. At the beginning of this year the oblast was allocated an additional 6 million rubles for these purposes but it effectively requires several times more. Local soviets have now been made responsible for resolving these tasks, but the meeting also considered the possibility of enlisting military construction workers for housing construction.

Many similar sensitive issues were singled out during the trip. Summing up the results of the discussion, O. Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, pointed out that they stem from the fact that the State Program for Highway Construction in the Non-Chernozem Zone was not properly worked out at the time and failed to take changes in the economic structure and economic relations into consideration.

At present a number of ministries and departments directly interested in the fulfillment of the State Program are failing to meet their obligations. The special commission under the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers whose task is to coordinate and direct highway construction work has not as yet begun to work at full strength.

The trip also aimed, O. Baklanov stressed, to study the state of affairs at local level—and everything indicates that it is typical of other oblasts, too—take all the comments and proposals into consideration, and make the requisite amendments.

A working group was set up which is to prepare for the government within a week the appropriate proposals aimed at effectively implementing a series of measures for the social development of the RSFSR's Non-Chernozem Zone.

Biryukova Visits Kostroma 15-17 Feb

LD1802160790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2039 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Kostroma, 17 Feb (TASS)—Immediately after the CPSU Central Committee plenum its participants dispersed around the country to explain the fundamentally new ideas engendered in the sharp and heated discussions. In the opinion of Aleksandra Biryukova, candidate Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who was in Kostroma Oblast from 15 to 17 February, such visits have become a continuation of the discussion begun in the Kremlin, and have involved labor collectives and broad strata of the population in the discussion of the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee. Although all the plenum documents have been widely discussed in the press, she told a TASS correspondent in an interview, people have a need to receive information "first hand," to voice their point of view, to argue, and to share their thoughts on how we live and how we will live in the future.

Numerous conversations with workers and with the city's inhabitants in the streets convince one, said Aleksandra Biryukova, that the everyone's opinion is the same—perestroyka is in earnest and for a long time, and there is no alternative to it. Although this is a difficult road, it is the only true one toward ensuring a worthy life for people. The changes are, however, taking place painfully, slowly.

We cannot, and do not have the right to, fail to take account of people's attitudes, continued the candidate Politburo member. The social sphere of improving the people's life is today the most advanced front of the

struggle for perestroyka and for socialism in general. If we do not achieve tangible changes for the better here, and if we do not halt the negative processes in the economy, the consequences will be most serious.

Vorotnikov Campaigns in Adygey Autonomous Oblast

LD1502214090 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, began his stay in the Adygey Autonomous Oblast with meetings with the electorate of the (?Shevgenovo) national-territorial constituency. He is a people's candidate for this RSFSR constituency, and was there from 12-14 February.

Addressing the voters, comrade Vorotnikov said that the published CPSU Central Committee draft platform offers the Soviet people a concept of socialism at the heart of which lies the principles of humanism and democrcy. It is clear to everyone today that the fate of perestroyka and the country's future depend to an enormous degree on how interethnic relations take shape.

During his stay in Adygey, comrade Vorotnikov also met the voters of Koshekhabl, Giaginskiy, and (?Teuchezhskiy) Rayons, visited remote villages and settlements of the oblast, and industrial and agricultural enterprises, where he had conversations with the inhabitants and labor collectives. There was a friendly conversation with an alternative candidate for RSFSR people's deputy, the director of the Krasnogvardeyskiy timber enterprise, (?Larionov), who has put forward his candidacy for this constituency. The chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium met representatives of labor collectives and public organizations of the oblast center, to whom he delivered a speech.

RSFSR Komsomol Set Up on Voluntary Basis

PM2702135990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Russian Komsomol Created"]

[Text] To unite the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] located on the territory of the Russian Federation in an RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Komsomol within the VLKSM on voluntary principles. This decision was adopted yesterday by the congress of Russian Komsomol organizations held in Moscow.

At the same time the delegates to the youth forum advocated by a qualified minority—more than one-third of the votes—the expediency of forming the RSFSR Komsomol on strictly voluntary, democratic principles.

A decision was adopted to hold the RSFSR Komsomol Congress no later than the middle of June in Moscow.

The delegates adopted a number of decisions and resolutions.

TASS Report

LD1802202990 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—By TASS correspondents Aleksandra Budris and Galina Vinitskaya:

The Russian Federation, as well as all other union republics, now has its own republican young communist league, a constituent part of the all-union league.

Participants in the first stage of the congress of Komsomol organisations of the Russian Federation, which ended here today, decided to establish it. It was also decided to continue the congress of the Russian Young Communist League in Moscow not later than mid-June.

It will elect governing bodies of the league, approve its programme and rules.

The all-union league is the largest youth socio-political organisation (31 million members) in the country. It was founded in 1918. Up to this day, only Komsomol organisations of the Russian Federation, the largest republic in the USSR, had no league of their own.

Its establishment has become a pressing issue now that national self-consciousness has sharply grown in the Russian Federation, like in other Soviet repubics.

The resolution on "the formation of the Young Communist League of the Russian Federation," adopted by the congress, says that the league unites Komsomol organisations of the Russian Federation on voluntary principles.

Delegates adopted an "appeal to young people and citizens of the republic." It notes that the Komsomol of the Russian Federation will seek to help young people realise their national interests and needs without waiting for reforms "from above".

The Komsomol advocates a political union with the Soviet Communist Party, based on ideological unity, and the formation of a Russian Communist Party as an intrinsic part of the CPSU, the appeal stresses.

Vlasov, Vorotnikov Attend Congress

LD1502095190 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Budris and Galina Vinitskaya:

A total of 935 delegates are attending the first congress of Russia's Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organisations to discuss their structure, the role of the Russian Komsomol in Soviet political and economic reforms, involvement in restoring Russian sovereignty and upgrading state, political and public structures.

The delegates will also discuss proposals for the 21st Komsomol Congress on the organisation's model and rules, activities and principles of forming Komsomol's ruling bodies and proposals to the Supreme Soviet and the Russian Government.

The congress is attended by Russia's President Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Prime Minister Aleksandr Vlasov and Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Yuriy Manayenkov.

The All-Union Lenin Communist Union of Young People (Komsomol) was founded in 1918 and is the largest socio-political organisation for young men and women. It has a membership of some 31 million people.

It includes 14 republican Komsomol organisations.

Historically, only the Russian Federation does not have its own republican organisation. The issue emerged when several republican branches started vying for independence.

Proponents of the Russian Komsomol branch believe that if the national Komsomol takes up federalism, Russia will need its own union.

Preparations for the congress began several months ago, but its delegates still lack a common opinion of what the future youth organisation in Russia should be like.

Opponents of the Russian Komsomol believe it should be replaced by a new organisation.

Some say that the Komsomol no longer expresses young people's interests and is in a deep crisis. Over the past five years its membership has dropped by 10 million people, they say.

Others think that the all-union Komsomol has socialist, social democratic and other wings. And it should be transformed into a union of independent organisations reflecting these platforms.

There are also those who say that only the 21st Congress of the Komsomol scheduled for April can decide its future.

The congress of the Russian Komsomol organisations will be held in two stages. First, it will decide on the expediency of setting up a new union. The second stage will consider its new structure early in June, after the 21st Congress of the Soviet Komsomol is held.

New Leader of Kabardin-Balkar Oblast Elected

LD2102164490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Today an organizational issue was examined at a plenum of the Kabardin-Balkar party oblast committee. In connection with the confirmation of Comrade Yeliseyev as a member of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, he was released from his duties as first secretary of the oblast committee. After wide-scale discussion in the primary organizations, the candidacies of (Kokov), second secretary of the oblast committee, and Comrade (Mamkhegov), chairman of the council of ministers, were put forward for this post. During the plenum Comrade (Mamkhegov) withdrew his candidacy, and Comrade Kokov was elected first secretary of the Kabardin-Balkar Oblast Committee.

Klaipeda Gorkom Elects New First Secretary

LD2102145190 Klaipeda Maritime Press Service in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Summary] It has been reported at a plenum of the Klaipeda City Committee [gorkom] of the Communist Party of Lithuania that there are some 4,000 party members in the city at present. Bremkauskas was elected gorkom first secretary.

Bobykin Resignation Brings No Improvement

LD1802142190 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Sverdlovsk February 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nadezhda Potapova:

The recent resignation of Leonid Bobykin, leader of Sverdlovsk regional party organisation, one of the largest in the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU), has not led, as was expected by some people, to an improvement of the state of affairs in the region.

Sverdlovsk communists believe that 14 members of the party bureau and all 146 members of the party's regional committee, which is virtually in charge of the entire life of this industrialised region with a population of almost five million, should also share responsibility together with Bobykin.

This opinion, which is being expressed by communists at meetings that are taking place in primary party organisations, formed in the region long ago and it is not based on emotions or situation-determined mood.

The style of management was criticised as far back as last year. Although resolutions of meetings in primary party organisations were sent to the regional committee and some even to the CPSU Central Committee, officials everywhere pretended that nothing special happened.

"People are sick and tired of such 'deafness' of executives," Aleksandr Kuzmin, secretary of the party committee of the steel mill in the town of Serov, told TASS.

"The lack of dialogue with primary party organisations and with democratic movements that have sprung up and the fact that the administrative style of work is still intact are the main causes of demands that not only the first secretary of the regional committee but also all those involved in the policy of marking time to the accompaniment of slogans about benefits of perestroyka should be replaced".

"Communists and non-party people are poorly informed of the work of their elective regional bodies," said Lyudmila Samarskaya, teacher at the Sverdlovsk Forestry Institute. "We do not know who of our leadership do what and what is their attitude to economic and political issues."

Everyone came to feel a shortage of food and industrial consumer goods, one of specific outcomes of such a poor organisation of mangerial affairs in the region.

Aware that this problem is of countrywide concern, people are nevertheless confident that the shortage could have been not so great if regional executives showed initiative and independence.

In a word, discontent that manifested itself in demands for resignation en masse is spearheaded not so much against some particular people as against the old style of work of the regional leadership, the style which discredited itself and which was again condemned at the recent plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee earlier this month.

It is clear that the time of modern-thinking, resourceful felxible, and approachable regional leaders has come. It is necessary to break up the old adminstrative mechanism for them to be able to take office. This is what communists in Sverdlovsk, and not only in Sverdlovsk, are pressing for.

Such processes are now taking place practically throughout the country. An example of this has been provided by the resignation of regional executives in Novosibirsk, Ufa, Donetsk and many other large cities of the country.

Altay First Secretary Popov Retires

LD1702144190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] A plenum of the Altay kray party committee [kraykom] took place in Barnaul today. It considered an organizational issue by satisfying kraykov First Secretary Popov's request to be relieved of his post in connection with his retirement.

The decision was made to entrust Kraykom Second Secretary (Zhiltsov) with the first secretary's duties until a kray report-back and selection conference of the party.

Deputies Walk Out of Vorkuta Conference

LD1902153790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Vorkuta]

[Text] The extraordinary party report-back and election conference continued for three days, but was unable to finish its work: The reason for this was the walk-out by 60 miners' and workers' delegates. They disagreed with the course and character of the way in which the conference was conducted. In their opinion it helped preserve the old composition of members of the party city committee.

The conference recognized the city committee's work as being unsatisfactory; nevertheless, Valeriy Pavlovich Serdyukov was reelected first secretary of the city committee, although only by a majority of one.

A number of conference participants cast doubt on the correctness of the work of the teller's committee, especially after an extra ballot paper was found in the ballot box during the election of the city committee ideology secretary. Fierce arguments broke out. These were broadcast every day on local radio and television.

The conference delegates decided that its representatives will visit those party organizations whose delegates walked out of the conference. They will also discuss with communists the conflict situation, and later, taking into account their opinions, will meet again in order to continue their work.

Conference Resumes, Secretaries Resign

LD2302213690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Today after a four-day break the extraordinary Vorkuta city report-back and election party conference continued its work. During the forced break its participants visited those primary party organizations whose delegates were dissatisfied with the course of the conference's work and who earlier demonstratively walked out of the hall. Today they apologized at the conference for their behavior. At the same time the conference, on the whole, agreed with their arguments. It was decided, in part, to reelect the tellers commission and acknowledge the elections of the city party committee secretaries as invalid. Valeriy Pavlovich Serdyukov, elected earlier first secretary of the city CPSU committee, and also his main competitor, Leonid Petrovich Tkachenko, secretary of the party committee of the Severnaya mine, withdrew their candidatures. The conference continues it work.

Maritime Kray Kraykom Holds Plenum

LD1602235990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Feb 90

[TASS Correspondent report from Vladivostok]

[Text] An extended plenum of the Maritime Kray's CPSU Kray Committee [kraykom] was held, which considered the political situation in the kray; it lasted over 12 hours. Besides the members of elected party bodies, the representatives of primary party organizations, working collectives, and informal associations took part in the work of the plenum.

Speakers said that a complex political situation has been created in the Maritime area by the crises of confidence

in the leading bodies of the kray. A notorious voyage to Japan, in which scores of leaders were involved in mercantile activities, with the specious excuse of a trade union cruise, was strongly condemned.

The plenum sternly evaluated the initiators of the cruise and other doubtful actions. Chubay, who compromised himself as chairman of the kray council of trade unions, and Romanyuk, head of Party Building and Cadre Work Department of the CPSU Kraykom, were removed from the membership of the Bureau and the CPSU Kraykom. Comrade Lutsejko, who earlier was relieved from the posts of chairman the Kray Executive Committee earlier, also left the kraycom.

At the insistence of the plenum participants, ordinary workers filled the vacancies that had arisen. Now in the highest party body of the kray, 5 out of 11 members are representatives of the working class. Besides sharp and impartial criticism, there were protests against the groundless defamation of the party committees. The leitmotiv of the speeches was that the produced account should have a specific addressee.

By a majority vote, the plenum expressed confidence in the Bureau of the kraykom and adopted a resolution on the stabilization of the political situation in the kray.

Maritime Kraykom Bureau Dismissals for Malfeasance

PM2002170390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent report: "Changes in Kraykom Bureau"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 16 Feb—The enlarged plenum of the Maritime CPSU Kraykom [kray party committee] which discussed the political situation in the kray lasted more than 12 hours. In addition to members of elected party bodies, representatives of primary party organizations, labor collectives, and informal associations took part in the plenum's work.

Speakers said that a complex political situation has been created in the Maritime Kray by a crisis of confidence in the kray's leading bodies. The reason for this sharp rejection is the notorious trip to Japan on which dozens of leaders pursued their own mercantile ends on the plausible pretext of a trade union peace cruise.

The plenum sternly appraised the initiators of the cruise and other dubious actions. V. Chubay, chairman of the kray trade union council, and V. Romanyuk, head of the CPSU kraykom's organizational party and cadre work department, who had compromised themselves, were expelled from the bureau and the CPSU kraykom. V. Lutsenko, earlier released from his duties as chairman of the krayispolkom [kray soviet executive committee], has also left the kraykom. On the insistence of the plenum participants the vacancies thereby created have been filled by ordinary working people. Now, 5 of the 11 members of the kray's highest party body are representatives of the working class.

In addition to the sharp, impartial criticism at the plenum, people spoke out against indiscriminate defamation of party committees. Criticism must have a specific address: that was the leitmotif of the speeches.

By an overwhelming majority of votes the plenum expressed its confidence in the CPSU kraykom bureau and adopted a resolution on stabilizing the political situation in the kray.

Moscow Gorkom Plenum Reported

PM2202110190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents S. Bogatko and Yu. Kazmin: "Going To Meet Changes"]

[Text] According to established party tradition, after CPSU Central Committee plenums it used to be the custom to give communists time to "think over the documents' and gradually—from bottom to top—to discuss the decisions taken. Today life requires a swifter reaction. The plenum of the committee of the country's largest city party organization met after the CPSU Central Committee February plenum. Of course, the discussion of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Congress is also proceeding in the lower echelons, but time tolerates no hesitation. The political struggle has been aggravated in the country, reaching a critical pitch: Dangerous separatist trends and extremist manifestations have emerged.

At the same time the present Moscow CPSU Gorkom [city committee] plenum is a kind of start to the second stage of the widespread Moscow-wide party debate. You felt that the assessments given of the Central Committee plenum decisions were mostly well considered. The seed had fallen on plowed soil, as they say. Although that does not mean that the platform was accepted unconditionally. Perhaps even the opposite—the document was analyzed in an atmosphere of keen polemics.

Those taking part in the plenum were presented with a survey of Muscovites' letters which had reached the gorkom. They voiced proposals for the procedure for electing delegates to the congress and the central party organs and on questions of cadres work, the development of glasnost, the enhancement of the primary organizations' militancy, and the intensification of party discipline. People are displaying mounting interest in the consolidation of the CPSU's prestige as the political vanguard of society and are denouncing increasingly resolutely the attempts to discredit the party and its organs and the communists. The letters sound the alarm for the purity, unity, and cohesion of party ranks. There is also keen criticism. Here are lines from these letters:

"It is already clear to everyone that the further existence of the administrative-edict system is unacceptable. We must move to democratic principles. But here we must not create anarchy and chaos in society. A. Ryabinkin."

"We young communists no longer understand many of the elements taking place in the country. You look at the Supreme Soviet session and you see irresponsible and unfounded criticism of the party by the people's deputies. The communist deputies are undermining its honor and prestige with a kind of bitterness. Many people are reaching the point of uttering absurdities, for which they must be made strictly answerable, in a party manner. M. Senatovich."

"As a CPSU member and worker at the 'Kompressor' plant, I want to ask you: Surely you do not want the events of the Transcaucasus to be repeated in Moscow and the blood of our citizens to be shed? V. Skvortsov."

"I have a question for you which I ask you to answer. Are the well known public statements by communist Yu.N. Afanasyev compatible with his membership of the CPSU? How should we understand the silence of the leaders of Moscow's party organization? V. Kostrikin."

"At school No. 491 there was a meeting to nominate candidate deputies. We nominated a cooperative chairman as a candidate and voted for him. Then we nominated a second candidate. This citizen came out onto the stage and gave an indistinct account of his platform and stated that he was a nonparty member and did not respect the communists, and that the Moscow Gorkom and CPSU Central Committee Politburo contain only rogues and bribe takers, they must all be removed and put on trial. And nonetheless despite this shameless slander, they voted for his nomination. A. Svirin."

"It is no secret that the 'independent associations' build their election struggle tactics on setting themselves against the CPSU. They have collected many arguments and conjectures and are not embarrassed to misrepresent the facts. And if the communist candidate deputies start to defame each other serious harm will be caused to the party's influence. I believe it is from this premise that the Moscow Gorkom initiative to consolidate the communists should proceed. It is time to leap from the trenches. We shall investigate our party's affairs ourselves, without prompting from those who hate it.... All the work of the Moscow Gorkom and the raykoms [rayon committees] should be devoted to the main aim for this period—victory at the elections. V. Gaydukov."

The "overall balance" of the Moscow communists' assessments of the Central Committee platform is positive. It has been recognized that the document defines what are the main political guidelines for the party and society for today. And it was the clear confirmation of loyalty to the socialist path of development which was noted primarily. The statement that the CPSU will oppose social injustice and man's exploitation of man in any of its manifestations—that is the ideological basis which determines the communist nature of our party.

The report delivered by Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and the speeches of the other speakers voiced support for the Central Committee course toward the irrevocable replacement of the obsolete mechanism of interaction between economic management and policy, toward the renunciation of the dogmatization of an ideology which for decades has preserved the state-administrative model of socialism.

The renunciation of the monopoly of power, the readiness to act under conditions of the existence of other political forces—that is a complex and very hard process, said V.N. Senkov, first secretary of the Leninskiy party Raykom, S.A. Vladimirov, secretary of the party committee of the light alloys science and production association, A.A. Mikhaylov, chairman of the board of the Moscow writers organization, and others. The communists, aware of their responsibility to the people, cannot allow the country to be lashed by political chaos or the renunciation of the monopoly of one party to result in the monopoly of other political forces for society. The Moscow communists believe that any party diktat is intolerable and that the decisive power should indeed belong to the people in the shape of the soviets.

Now that the party is deliberately moving away from legislative and executive functions and the role of the political dialogue between the CPSU and the main social strata of society is growing, the need arises for an active quest for supporters and a struggle against ideological opponents. But the draft platform, the plenum participants noted, does not reflect these new tasks precisely. The mechanism for the party's self-purging and liberation from ballast and from those who differ fundamentally with its policy should be formulated specifically.

In the opinion of a number of speakers, some principled proposals which received broad support from a clear majority of communists have not been adequately reflected in the draft platform. The criticism it contains is mainly directed at the past and present-day practice is not assessed self-critically enough.

The plenum voiced perplexity over the fact that the decision on the procedure for holding the election of congress delegates had again been deferred. The mood of the capital's communists has long been known: They demand the direct, alternative, secret election of delegates. That is why the plenum defined the procedure for electing delegates in Moscow precisely in accordance with this principle.

The provisions of the draft on the numerical strength of the CPSU Central Committee and the institution of the posts of party chairman and deputy chairmen did not generate unconditional support. Fears were voiced that this will cause a big rift between the Central Committee and its leadership and will prevent the development of democratic principles.

Communists consider it their inalienable right to have access to the information of how party funds are spent and on what. Clarity in this question will help eliminate pretexts for all kinds of political speculations which undermine the CPSU's prestige. For instance, it is obviously necessary to allocate to the primary party organizations up to 50 percent of the funds they have collected to carry out political measures, to provide material aid to party veterans and badly off communists, and also to pay the labor of full-time primary organization workers.

Demagogic expatiations about the apparatus as though it were an invention of the era of stagnation are naive to say the least. Not a single party in the world can manage without functionaries. What kind of apparatus is necessary to back up the work of the elected organs is another matter. It is this which should be stated with the utmost clarity in the platform.

Many speakers mentioned the need for the political defense of Russia's economic and social interests. Sentiments in support of the idea of creating a Russian Communist Party predominate. But, in fighting for the republics' maximum autonomy, we must defend to the end the party's unity as a guarantee of the preservation of the Soviet federation. The plenum believes that we can no longer delay the holding of an all-Russian party conference.

Those taking part in the plenum spoke with alarm of numerous cases of the infringement of Muscovites' social interests by the absolute power of the ministries and departments. Trade and transport are working to the limit of their possibilities in the city, the wait for improved housing conditions has "frozen," and the ecological situation is bad. Yet the ministries and departments continue to build up the capacities of labor-intensive production facilities and to create ever new scientific research institutes, managerial offices, and other institutions. Incidentally, over half of all joint ventures involving the participation of foreign partners have located their offices in Moscow. And the Moscow City Soviet has no opportunity to influence this process. Space in short supply in the city center is given for the accommodation of bureaucrats by arbitrary decisions from above.

Many decisions remain no more than a declaration. You can count on your fingers the number of cases where people have been brought to book for their formal, callous attitude toward people, lack of attention and red tape in examining citizens' appeals to the party and state organs, and disregard for their legitimate demands. Urgent matters are submerged in endless debates, one-sided, half-baked laws are adopted giving rise to a mass of contradictions and paralyzing the local authorities' actions. The plenum termed is new phenomenon in our society "a parliamentary mutation of bureaucracy."

Today everyone—both communists and nonparty people—is vitally interested in ensuring that the organs of the people's power are joined by people who are indeed capable of working for perestroyka. And the gorkom's position adopted in the election campaign is unambiguous: What is important is not who has nominated a candidate deputy but who has been nominated. The plenum denounced manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism, and racism, whatever their provenance. And it said a resolute "no" to appeals for violence, for psychological pressure on the state law enforcement organs and the army, for the persecution of the people who work in them, and for anarchy and lawlessness. At this complex time for the country and party the consolidation of all progressive forces and civil consensus are more necessary than ever.

The plenum resolution states that the CPSU Central Committee draft Platform for the 28th Party Congress is a realistic basis for the consolidation of the city's communists, working people, and inhabitants in the further democratic renewal of the party and society. The capital's communists have been asked to discuss this very important document with the broad enlistment of all Muscovites. It has been deemed expedient, for the collection and generalization of proposals, to create working groups in the gorkom and raykoms and to elaborate on a democratic basis the position of the city's communists with regard to the CPSU congress. The plenum expressed solidarity with the Lithuanian communists standing on the position of the CPSU.

An appeal to the CPSU Central Committee was also adopted. It voices proposals on the most urgent problems of the life of the party and society, voices critical remarks, and gives a clear mandate to do everything possible to stabilize the situation in society and prevent chaos, lawlessness, and anarchy, and to use the full authority of the Central Committee to introduce order in the country.

'Anarchists' Register as Moscow Candidates

90UN0886B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 6, 7 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by A. Tsyganov: "Are the Anarchists Choosing Power?"]

[Text] It seems that the black banner of anarchy is ready to be raised above the Mossovet [Moscow City Council]. Don't you sneer at this: Members of the KAS [Confederacy of Anarchists and Syndicalists] have been actually registered as candidates for the deputies of the Moscow parliament.

The anarchists choose power? How are they going to apply it?

Unlike many candidates who do not want or know how to disclose the secrets of their preelection platforms, the anarchists have taken a very well-defined ideological stand. It is based on the principles outlined by the founding fathers of the movement—"authority" and "freedom" are diametrically opposed ideas. Just as diametrically opposed are the teachings on state socialism

and anarchism's corresponding teachings. The "fathers" also came up with the concept: All human life should be adapted to the laws of individual development and individuals should enter freely any associations, but the government should be eliminated.

"Our platform," says KAS member V. Gurbolikov, "is close to the positions of the democratic deputies from the 'interregional' group, for instance. We do not agree with them in everything but we are of the same opinion regarding the absolute priority of human rights over the rights of the state and over all kinds of doctrines. We stand for the removal of the government from public life and the economy, for the development of the people's self-governing ability, especially at regional levels; we want all the organs of power created only through the agreement of all the self-governing communities."

So, a new organized force steps into the arena of our political struggle even though this force is informal and has not been officially recognized. According KAS candidate A. Isayev, their main target is "not to ask the people for a loan of confidence, as we know beforehand that we will not get any power and therefore we will not be able to repay the debt." First of all, they want to concentrate their efforts on the elections to the local soviets. Then, after they create several democratic councils, they intend to make them oppose the center.

However, we can remain calm for now: The four KAS candidates do not have that many chances to install anarchy in the local organs of power. But perhaps they will help install some order?

Tyumen Obkom Decreases Nomenklatura Posts

PM2302110590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Yuriy Perepletkin: "End of the Nomenklatura?"]

[Text] Tyumen—An unusual decision has been made at a session of the CPSU oblast committee [obkom] interim bureau: They have abolished the so-called nomenklatura of jobs, which had previously been subject to mandatory ratification by the obkom.

The obkom's nomenklatura list featured more than 2,000 jobs: prosecutors, plant directors, association leaders, VUZ [higher educational institution] rectors, chairmen and deputy chairmen of city and rayon soviet executive committees... The nomenklatura list now only has around 100 people left—mainly the secretaries of city party committees [gorkoms] and rayon party committees [raykoms].

V. Kitayev, secretary of the CPSU obkom and head of the interim bureau, made the following comment on the decision:

"What is the point in 'ratifying' judges if they have been chosen by the people? Or of ratifying an enterprise director who has been nominated by the labor collective? The functions of party organs today are changing, and we should not cling to the past. The system by which all kinds of leaders invariably progressed 'via the bureau' has become an anachronism. It is neither our job nor our right to determine their careers. We advocate a new cadre policy: We are obliged above all to be concerned to ensure that worthy comrades head up major party committees and CPSU gorkoms and raykoms."

Unregistered Associations Meet in Saratov

LD1902095190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] A sanctioned meeting of a number of new public associations, as yet unregistered at the town soviet executive committee, took place on the main square of Saratov today. Taking part were thousands of townsfolk, primarily young people. The local party and soviet bodies have sharply changed their attitude to people's increased activeness, and to meetings in the period of the election campaign. The day before, on Saturday, local television broadcast a live meeting of the leaders of the oblast CPSU committee, the oblast and town soviet executive committees, the procuracy, internal affairs bodies, and representatives of public organizations with the inhabitants of the town and oblast.

Although many vitally important problems in the nearly three-hour long conversation appeared to be discussed, and the participants in the broadcast came to an agreement, many people nevertheless came to the meeting. Taking account of the situation, the oblast CPSU committee and oblast soviet executive committee adopted a decision for party organizations to take part in the meeting. The workers in the town's enterprises also came to express their attitude to current events and to perestroyka, and to discuss the CPSU Central Committee draft platform for the 28th party congress. Representatives of labor collectives came from a number of the oblast's rayons.

In conditions when varied and on occasion diametrically opposed views are being voiced, an exchange of views can proceed, albeit with difficulty. This is better than its absence, in a situation of universal, indifferent approval. The current meeting and brass-tacks conversation will perhaps lead more quickly to a consolidation of healhty forces in the town and oblast, and to the taking of constructive decisions. The patriotism expressed at the meeting has literally swept over some of the informal public organizations, and mainly young people. An initiative group, a club-seminar of candidates, has already begun preparations for the next meeting, and the idea of holding it on 25 February was supported by the town soviet executive committee.

Preelection Rally Held in Kaliningrad

LD2602144190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 26 February, in its "Vremya"

newscast, carries a 3-minute Chekalin report on a 25 February reelection rally held in Kaliningrad. He introduces his report by saying that as the 4 March RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies elections approach, the campaign becomes more intense. He continues: "And you must agree, rallies play a far from insignificant role in it. Yesterday reaffirmed this once again. Rallies present the opportunity for people to express themselves freely, to recount their misfortunes and engage in agitation. But there is also a danger in the extreme positions of street politics. The prompt was a recent town rally."

Chekalin points out that the KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA did not publish a list of candidates, which prompted calls for a rally. The video shows a notice advertising the forthcoming elections and people buying newspapers from a kiosk. Chekalin says that although the town executive committee could not ban a preelection rally, it tried to locate it in a distant park. "But USSR people's deputies insisted on the town's central square, where there is a rostrum," he noted. Video pans a near-empty square, with a rostrum in front of a Lenin statue. "In the end permission was granted to set up a microphone—not on the actual rostrum, which is for top leaders—but to the left of its base," he states.

Chekalin continues: "Despite the organisers' demands, the newspaper simply did not publish a notice about the rally, but, however the people found out, and they came." The video shows an illegible list of demands being hung on the side of the rostrum. "In the crowd is the oblast committee ideological aktiv, its lecturers' group, professionals who now have the perfect opportunity to take the initiative and to put the process under control [sdelat protsess kontroliruyemym], but the microphone has passed into the possession of informals from the Solidarity movement, the Young Democratic Front, the Ecological Committee, and others.

Chekalin says: "Everything proceeds further according to a preplanned scheme. This is a rough anatomy of the rally: The leader launches several so-called candidate deputies to ingratiate himself. Then comes a ready burst of speakers. They warm up the public with exposures of the dark deeds of the leaders. Accusations of corruption, which noone refutes, and of the growth of a trade Mafia are made. Although there is no documental accuracy in these outbursts, the call of Down with...! meets with universal approval. Of course, ballast has to be thrown overboard. Nevertheless, whether we want this or not, when emotion dominates common sense, extremism and anarchy triumph. It is becoming more and more dangerous to be an observer, and a passive, contemplative onlooker, more dangerous for all of us."

The report ends with the video showing the rally, and a placard listing candidates not to vote for.

Incident at 4 Feb Demonstration Reported

PM2302180290 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7, 18 Feb 90 p 4

[Dmitriy Ostalskiy report: "Deputy Minister to the Rescue]

[Text] One of the very few, and maybe the only, incidents which occurred during the demonstration in Moscow on February 4 (MN No. 6) was what happend to Nikolay Moskovchenko, a retired Major, candidate to people's deputies of the RSFSR and Moscow City Soviet, co-chairman of he Moscow chapter of the Shield (Shchit military trade union).

That day Nikolay Moskovchenko was attacked. Not by extremists, but by Lieutenant General Nikolay Smirnov, military commandant of Moscow.

"After I had arrived at the marchers' meeting point at Kryinskiy Val," says Moskovchenko, "I was unexpectedly confronted by General Smirnov. He wasn't in uniform, but I recognized him, and he knew me. After a short conversation in the course of which the general snatched the certificate proving my status as a candidate-deputy and tore it up (I was naively trying to prove that I was untouchable), Smirnov made a signal to some people in plain clothes, who seized me and tried to bundle me into a car waiting nearby. I shouted for help. I was lucky, Petr Bogdanov, another Lieut.-Gen., chief of the Chief Administration of Internal Affairs of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee and deputy minister for Internal Affairs, happened to be passing and rushed to my rescue. The militiamen who came with him obviously outnumbered the attackers. General Smirnov's 'team' had to let me go. That was the end of the incident, not counting the cockade which the commandant tore off my cap."

Let's not try to figure out the reasons for the conflict between Major Moskovchenko, former teacher at the Air Force Engineering Academy, and the military department. This merits a separate article. The important thing in our story is that the Major was dismissed from the armed forces on January 10 this year and no longer has the right to wear the uniform he sports. This, apparently, very much infuriates certain people among the military leaders. In any case, it is hard to find any other explanation why the city commandant himself is "dealing" with the Major. Moskovchenko says that until he gets certain documents, and the law allows three months for this, he has the right to wear a military uniform. And, according to him, all his things are at the Academy hostel, to which he no longer has access, for various reasons.

When commenting on the incident, Lieut.-Gen. Smirnov said:

"I had already warned Moskovchenko twice that he has no right to wear a military uniform. On February 4, seeing him again in uniform, I went up and demanded that the follow me. Moskovchenko refused. That was the

reason why our patrol service had to apply force. I'm not at all against meetings and demonstrations (By the way, quite a few servicemen took part in the February 4 manifestation).

Growing Demand for 'Firm Hand' in Volgograd

PM1602164090 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 90 p 1

[Own correspondent Dmitriy Shevarov report from Volgograd under the rubric "The Present Moment": "Paralysis of the Firm Hand"]

[Text] The huge office of the first secretary of Volgograd CPSU Obkom [oblast committee] is still empty. Yuriy Aleksandrovich Nekrasov, unpaid acting first secretary, occupies a smaller office—that of the obkom second secretary. Nekrasov's main place of work is at the oblast Administration of Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade. He visits the obkom by public transport.

Every day you can find here Victor Yermakov and Aleksandr Kiselev—secretaries of the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] obkom. Both of them have joined the provisional party obkom bureau on the proposal of many primary party organizations. Kiselev also belongs to the coordinating social committee as a USSR people's deputy.

Every day the provisional bureau receives tens or even hundreds of proposals regarding the elections of delegates to the oblast party conference, changes in the structure of the obkom apparatus, and the formation of its bureau. Many Communists propose that obkom members be elected on a contested basis by means of direct delegation from the localities. It is proposed that leaders representing the defense department, the KGB, and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and leaders of the mass media should not be elected to the obkom. People are proposing a great many candidates for the post of first secretary.

From the chronicle of recent events:

On the program "Seven Days," the presenter described the events in Volgograd as a local revolution. Well, if you have a revolution, the temptation is to act in a revolutionary manner. On Saturday evening Central Television programs were suddenly interrupted, and A. Orlov, chairman of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee], announced that "the oblispolkom is assuming full power."

Another sign of a "provincial revolution": The new social institutions are not totally destroying the old structures, but trying to adapt them in a constantly changing situation and rehabilitate everything progressive that survived the long years of stagnation. A formula for consensus is emerging, albeit agonizingly slowly, in relations between party committees and "informal" groups, between local soviets and USSR people's deputies, and, ultimately, between the authorities and the people.

From the provision on the provisional social coordinating committee: "...The committee has been set up and operates on the initiative of USSR people's deputies from Volgograd Oblast with the participation of representatives of the public.... The committee's main aim is to help constitutional organs of power and administration to fulfill their functions..., and ensure the observance of the principles of social justice, the rule of law, and law and order in the oblast. The committee will particularly monitor the resolution of priority problems.... The committee has the right to investigate the work of state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations...."

Judging by this document, the new committee is rather like a Cheka on an oblast scale, but all the same, it seems to me that basically the committee is akin to the "round-tables" and consensus governments that are being set up in East European countries in the transitional period.

There are seven items on the agenda for the committee's next session. Formerly the local leadership used to devote separate plenums and sessions to each of these questions, at which they did nothing but talk about the problems.

Gunfire in the streets.... Some 300,000 Volgograders living below the poverty line.... The ruinous sums that are still being poured into the No. 2 Volga-Don Canal.... AIDS already spreading unrestrainedly to many rural areas.... Ambulances ferrying the victims of ecological disasters—as yet, only on a rayon scale—to bulging hospitals. All these are local problems in Volgograd, but they need global solutions. That is why the coordinating committee is now sending 10 letters, 10 "pleas for help," to the Union Council of Ministers.

From the new year, the oblast went over to territorial economic accountability, but the former leadership did not worry about the starting conditions. The situation is also complicated by the fact that Moscow planned to increase food deliveries to the all-union stocks by 50 percent compared with last year. And if you remember that, according to the statistical administration's figures, income from the "shadow economy" in 1989 totaled 700 million rubles, or 21 percent of the oblast's entire trade turnover, it is clear that the ordinary Volgograder will have to tighten his belt severely this year.

It is surprising that the oblispolkom (which has not yet resigned, as the city's inhabitants demand), knowing all this, makes a solemn promise in the press: "The oblispolkom states that it will not allow the food supply situation to deteriorate." The oblispolkom thereby shifts the entire responsibility for the exacerbation of the situation onto the coordinating committee.

From the week's other events:

At a plenum of Volzhskiy City's Komsomol Gorkom [city committee] stormy debates rage: whether or not to hand over to the party obkom's "coffers" the party subscriptions for the last three months. In the end a compromise resolution is adopted: to hand them over, but for a specific purpose—for a children's home in Volzhskiy City.

The rayon center of Dubovka. An unauthorized rally organized by the Komsomol Raykom [rayon committee] turns into a people's assembly [skhod].

...In response to an appeal by Tsentralnyy Komsomol Raykom and Volgograd Komsomol Gorkom and Obkom, on Saturday 10 February young people came to the central embankment. Under the close supervision of the militia and a Komsomol operations detachment, a rally was held "For young people on the soviets." Young candidates to the republic's local soviets expressed fears at the rally that young people could become pawns in the hands of extremists or conservatives.

On the same day the third CPSU obkom plenum in 18 days was held. This time first secretaries of several Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms took part. The previous plenums had been attended only by a few lucky people who managed to bypass the militia cordons by way of side entrances and underground passageways.

Aleksandr Kiselev's proposal, which was "slammed" by the auditorium at the memorable January plenum—the proposal to give all Communists taking part in the plenum the right to vote at it—was this time adopted in part. The right to vote was granted to the invited representatives of party organizations. The plenum adopted a decision to convene the oblast report and election party conference 15 March 1990.

The candidates will be nominated not only at rayon and okrug conferences, but also in primary party organizations. And all the candidacies put forward are to be included, without discussion, on the list for the secret, closed ballot.

At the end of the plenum a cry of panic was heard from the floor: "Every day labor productivity at the plants is falling, yet you delay the election of the first secretary. We need him today!"

Every day the demand for a firm hand will grow, and the Volgograd democrats must take this into account. In my opinion people are ready, in principle, for a shaking of the foundations, for expropriation, for revolutionary actions.

In Volgograd it was deemed moral to publicize lists of senior officials of the CPSU obkom and the oblispolkom who unlawfully improved their housing conditions, as well as the names of leaders involved in embezzlement at the alcohol plant. Oblast Prosecutor N.P. Rudnev, finding himself well and truly pinned to the wall, issued for inspection lists of some 70 names. They all appeared on the front page of the city's evening newspaper under the alarming headline "Who Is Who." Clearly the reader would only have one answer to that: Of course, they are "enemies of the people." Many readers promptly felt they were experiencing the long-awaited festival of social justice. But many also reflected: This is the thrill of upheaval, this is a flouting of the dignity of even the unworthiest political leaders, this is the unison chant of "Down with...!"—surely we have left all that behind? When the cry "Publish!" sounds like "Up against the wall!", I personally am against this kind of glasnost. It represents, if I may say so, an accumulation of hatred. And this hatred could be the downfall not of the bureaucratic apparatus, but of specific individuals—possibly innocent bystanders.

So the movement in Volgograd is thus far following the classic scenario: resignation of corrupt leaders, rallies, a thirst for revenge and retribution that grows every day, the first provocations. And at the same time—rumors of the terrible natural cataclysms that await Volgograd. Everywhere there is talk of a diarchy (the provisional bureau and the coordinating committee), of the paralysis of power and the approaching anarchy. I am convinced that at the moment it is paralysis of a firm hand, not of power in general. New democratic structures are coming to birth—they cannot and must not be provisional. They need support.

Saratov Authorities, Electorate Clash

90UN0951B Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Feb 90 p 1

[TRUD correspondent Yu. Kazakov article: "They Did Not Agree to a Frank Conversation]

[Text] When the people are not trusted, they respond in the same way. This apparent truth received graphic affirmation during recent events in Saratov.

But it all started with a fact that at first glance was harmless. The initiative group of the club-seminar of candidates to people's deputies, which was established during the preelection campaign, reported its desire to the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] to conduct a mass meeting with the voters of the city on 11 February on the city's main square—Revolution Square—for a frank conversation concerning the problems that arose during the preelection campaign. And quite a few problems piled up: There is a substantial number of districts without alternative candidates, where, essentially, leadership workers are on the ballot, there is little activity by the voters who ignore meetings with candidates, and there is fear of a boycott of the elections by a substantial part of the voters. It would seem that a good objective was being pursued: To raise the activity of the people and to reinforce their belief in the possibility of perestroyka.

But, apparently, it is possible this activity frightened the representatives of the party and Soviet authority of the oblasts and cities. And then "office games" began with a single purpose: By any means not to permit this meeting

of candidates with the people. On 8 February, the oblast newspaper KOMMUNIST carried an unconvincing explanation by A.V. Rossoshanskaya, deputy chairman of the gorispolkom: "Rumors of apparent preparations for a rally in the city of Saratov have no substance to them.... In accordance with the laws on elections to the people's deputies of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and local soviets, it is proposed that the candidates for deputy meet with the voters in the houses of culture and clubs of the city." What does "it is proposed" mean, and why not meet on the square? From where did the word "rally" come, when the talk was about a meeting? The reader did not receive an answer to either of these questions, which only increased his interest in this measure.

The following day the same KOMMUNIST issued a new version: "Members of the ispolkom [executive committee] of the city soviet...expressed concern that the conduct of such a rally could cause a number of difficulties in the rhythm of the daily activities of the city and services for its residents. The more so because the situation in the city is not simple now, having been evoked by various rumors that pogroms are being readied on an ethnic basis, and by a growth in law violations and crime.... All of this raises the legitimate concern of the citizens." Now, it seems, that everything is clear: The prohibition derives from the most noble motives—concern for the lives of the citizens. But Saratov is not a city in the front lines, and this kind of supercharging of passions on the part of the gorispolkom caused alarm among the citizens of a totally different kind: Is this not an attempt to nip in the bud the ability to conduct rallies in Saratov?

And, finally, the day before the supposed rally, the very same newspaper decided to intimidate the average citizen completely: "The danger has arisen of the destabilization of the situation in the city and of a direct threat to the health and life of voters who desire to attend such a meeting." In our times, the creation of an "anti-advertisement" is the best advertisement. Which was confirmed the next day...

And on the day before, the interest in this meeting was even more aroused by suddenly started renovation work on Revolution Square. An excavator was rushed in from somewhere, and cement blocks for fencing off the square were brought in—and the work was in full swing. And for some reason, the monument to V.I. Lenin was covered with scaffolding and surrounded by a wooden screen. Did the oblast and city authorities hope with this naive deception to mislead the citizens with respect to the true purposes of the emergency "repair" work?

On the morning of 11 February, the entire square was surrounded by a solid ring of militiamen: About 800 people were thrown into this "operation." Thus, even someone who did not plan to go to this rally, came to the square simply out of curiosity: How will this unusual story end? Thus, the authorities, in fact, themselves incited a gathering of people around an empty square.

It must be said to the credit of the Saratov militia: It conducted itself this day with exceptional propriety and with goodwill, not committing any kinds of excesses. And it is not its fault that the militia had to execute someone's absurd order. What were they guarding from the people? An empty square? Lenin's monument? Or, perhaps, the oblast and city leaders? Alas, no one from the leadership was even close to the square on this day.

This is the kind of distrust that the local authorities displayed for the residents of Saratov. But the people did not even think of arranging disturbances "with a threat to the life and health of the voters." After one of the candidates for people's deputy, a member of the initiative group, declared over a loudspeaker that those who had assembled could conduct a meeting with the candidates on the embankment, a large group of the people turned around and left the square for the Volga.

That is where the conversation was conducted, nonetheless. But its mood was now entirely different than if it had been conducted in an organized way on the main square of the city. Irritated and embittered by the actions of the authorities, the people unanimously adopted a resolution concerning their distrust of the current obkom of the CPSU, and they demanded its retirement. The resolution also has an appeal to the "unopposed candidates" to refuse to campaign for a deputy seat in such a situation. Distrust was also expressed in the oblast and city electoral commissions which permitted a whole number of violations during the preelection campaign. Similar resolutions were adopted in preelection meetings in a number of rayons of the city that were held on the same day.

What kind of a conclusion can be made while still hot on the tracks of this story? The Saratov residents proved that to consider them an unbridled and wild crowd is not only insulting, but also unfair.

Let us imagine another situation: A meeting was held on the square and order was maintained by a people's patrol from the enterprises; on the tribune, among the candidates for deputy, are the leaders of the city and the oblast who frankly answer the most acute questions of the citizens.... This would have been a display of true democracy on the part of the leadership! But...apparently, they do not want to talk with the masses. Or they cannot; are they not ready?

We are awaiting a further development of the events: Because the participants of all of the meetings held on that day in the city demanded, nonetheless, official permission to conduct a rally on Revolution Square—now on 25 February.

Moscow TV on Smolnyy Oblast, City CPSU Plenum

LD2202231490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 90

[from the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent Sergey Dukhavin from Smolnyy]

[Excerpt] A combined plenum of the oblast and city party committee was held today in Leningrad. Here is a report from our correspondent:

[Dukhavin] I will have the courage to assert that an unusual plenum took place in Smolnyy today. [video shows Smolnyy and meeting in progress] It was unusual above all because for the first time in many decades the voice of everyone from the almost 600,000-strong detachment of Leningrad communists could be heard at it. It became possible due to the referendum held a week ago on a number of very important issues concerning the democratic renewal of the party. Thus, the overwhelming number of communists spoke in particular in favor of replacing the oblast and city party committees with one single party committee; in favor of direct elections of delegates for the conference of the Leningrad CPSU organization in each party okrug on a multi candidate basis; and finally in favor of the setting up in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] of a republican party organization.

Many participants' speeches at the plenum voiced alarm in connection with deterioration in the work of the regional economy, with the infringement of the public interests of various groups of citizens. And of course everyone, without exception, expressed views and proposals on the draft of the CPSU Central Committee's platform for the 25th congress, which is being discussed. [passage omitted]

Western Republics

'Uneasiness' Over Donetsk Political Situation

LD2202163490 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The political situation in Donetsk Oblast, which is arousing concern and uneasiness, was discussed yesterday at a meeting of secretaries of primary party organizations. A report was delivered by Mironov, second secretary of the party oblast committee. Among the participants in the conference there were members of the oblast party organs, secretaries of rayon and city committees, and strike committees. They discussed an immediate and complete handing of power over to the soviets, granting economic independence to enterprises, democratization of intraparty life, and providing the Donbass population the conditions necessary for normal activities at work and in everyday life.

The delegation of the oblast party organization that was formed at the plenum of the oblast party committee, informed those present on its meeting in Moscow with M.S. Gorbachev.

The meeting adopted a resolution calling for patience, staunchness, and opposition to perplexity, panicking, strikes, and other unconstructive actions.

Donetsk Leader Resignations Demanded at Meeting

LD1102043890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 10 February in its "Vremya" newscast carries a three-minute video report from Donetsk. Correspondent G. Kondaurov notes that yesterday demands were made for the resignation of the Donetsk Obkom [oblast party committee] Bureau at the mass meeting held in front of the obkom building on the initiative of the City Worker's Committee of Miners, the Union of Voters, and other organizations. "This meeting supported Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's line at the Central Committee Plenum," said Kondaurov.

As he spoke, the camera showed a speaker addressing a mass outdoor meeting, with people carrying placards saying "We demand the resignation of the CPSU obkom headed by Vinnik!," "Down with party corruption," "Not deserved rest, but deserved punishment for Shcherbitskiy!," "Article 6 out of the Constitution," and "KGB, who are you with?"

Over a video showing a speaker addressing the plenum, and then members of the audience speaking, Kondaurov reported that Anatoliy Yakovlevich Vinnik, obkom first secretary gave a brief speech in which he announced that an oblast party conference is planned for April. However, Kondaurov continued, all the speakers here "spoke with concern about the grave situation in the economy of the Donbass, about long lines in the shops, about flourishing black marketeering, and about how it has become harder for people to live."

In an interview, V.A. Ostrozhnyy party committee secretary of the Pochenkov Mine, said he thought the mass meeting had been "organized by a certain cirle of individuals, but to gain stock before the elections—to defame the leaders as the enemy, and to come to the surface against that background." He said the good thing about the meeting was that it had made the party organization wake up, adding that if the first secretary, the obkom, or its bureaus resigned, this would damage the oblast party organization.

Next G.I. Onishchuk, first secretary of Donetsk Obkom was interviewed. He said, "Well, I believe when the first secretary of an oblast party committee loses his authority and this is spoken about at every meeting, with demands for his resignation and for a decision to be taken, that decision should probably be made. That is my opinion. For this reason I think Anatoliy Yakovlevich really needs to make such a choice, and make such a decision—to retire. I agree it is necessary to fundamentally review the structure of party bodies, and I think that the times require this."

Kondaurov notes that the secretaries of a number of party raykoms reported to the plenum that the resolution of the mass meeting was being supported in the labor collectives. Vinnik was released from his post as obkom first secretary, at his own request. With a camera

showing more shots of plenum speakers, the correspondent concluded by saying that it was then decided to interrupt the plenum's work "to discuss the issues raised here in the primary party organizations; and then to continue the work on Wednesday, taking the opinion of broad strata of Donbass communists into account, and to adopt a final decision."

Leaders Defy Pressure To Resign

PM1502143790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent B. Glotov report under the general heading: "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Donetsk, 14 Feb—An enlarged plenum of Donetsk Oblast party committee, which had been broken off for several days, concluded its work here today.

The communists of the elected organ decided not to resign, as the participants in a rally had demanded. The plenum planned to hold an oblast party report and election conference at the beginning of April this year. The delegates to it will be elected in primary party organizations.

Ten Protesting Ukrainian Students Arrested

LD2802112390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Sajudis News Agency report]

[Text] On 24-25 February a Congress of the Ukrainian Students' Confederation, which comprises the Union of Ukrainian Students, the Brotherhood of West Ukrainian Students, and other student organizations took place in Lvov.

As a result of arrests in Kiev, only one representative from the Kiev Union of Ukrainian Students took part in the Congress.

A resolution was adopted by the students in Lvov which demanded the urgent release of the arrested students. A decision concerning a general protest strike by the Ukrainian students from 1 March was adopted at the Congress of the Confederation of Ukrainian students.

On 27 February 12 members of the Ukrainian Students' Confederation and delegates of the Congress arrived in Kiev; implementing the decisions of the Congress the students staged a picket outside the city soviet. They demanded the release of the 10 arrested students who are activists of the Kiev Students' Union and members of the strike committee.

Half an hour later a militia van arrived. (Kondratyuk) chairman of the Interior Ministry Department, said through a loudhailer that the pickets were violating a clause in the Administrative Code, deeming the picket line to be an unsanctioned meeting. Then the students sat down and announced that they would now begin a hunger strike. Immediately after that the militiamen began to push the students into the militia vans.

Mayor (Kondratyuk) declared that as long as he was in power he would send to prison not only 100 people but, if need be, he would imprison 300 people.

Twelve pickets have been detained.

People's Movement for Perestroyka Formed in Kiev

LD2402202890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] To unite people's efforts for a radical transformation of society, to serve the cause of uniting all nations and ethnic groups in the republic, and to reinforce the Soviet Federation—such are the aims of the Union of Workers of the Ukraine for Socialist Perestroyka, which held its inaugural congress in Kiev today. The society's program and rules were adopted there. The congress delegates appealed to workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and labor collectives in the republic to unite and work hard for the accomplishment of the perestroyka tasks and for the emergence and reinforcement of genuine people's sovereignty.

Group Officially Registered

PM1402160590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Sergey Tsikora dispatch under the rubric "Direct Line": "Official Recognition of 'Rukh'"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers has registered the statutes of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka—"Rukh." The dispute about whether this organization was "necessary" or "unnecessary" for the republic, which sometimes developed into a direct confrontation with the authorities, is over: The movement, which is backed by hundreds of thousands of people in the Ukraine, has won its civic rights.

What is today's "Rukh" in the Ukraine? It is a real and serious political force which must be taken into account by party, soviet, and economic organizations. It was declared at a recent press conference in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee that the republic's party leadership has made "Rukh" an offer of cooperation and has reached mutual understanding with it in the solution of ecological questions and problems of national culture and language.

"Rukh" has organizations in all the republic's oblasts today. The recently organized "human chain" from Kiev to Lvov proved that this organization is capable of rallying tens of thousands of people and bringing them out into the streets and squares.

As an unregistered organization until quite recently, "Rukh" had no right to officially nominate its candidates to elected organs of power. Despite being placed in such conditions, the social organization did not withdraw from the election campaign. Many "Rukh" representatives were nominated as candidate deputies by meetings of labor collectives, in educational establishments, and at places of residence. In order to give an idea of today's situation, let me say that at least two representatives of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka are registered in each of Kiev's electoral districts for the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet.

"Rukh" does not promise a quiet life for economic managers either. The movement's program, adopted at the constituent congress, says that, in the solution of economic problems, "Rukh" will be guided by the principle of priority of ecological over economic demands and will aim to reorient the republic's economy toward high-technology production meant to serve the satisfaction of man's needs.

'Friendship' Meeting Held

LD1902131390 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Sunday meetings in Kiev, attended by thousands of people, and sponsored by Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] have become a tradition. The meetings are addressed by representatives of this organization and of other public and political associations. Over the last two months most of the speakers at these meetings are deputy candidates to republican and local soviets, nominated not only by Rukh, but also by the Green World Association, the Ukrainian Language Society, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, and others.

Today's meeting was addressed by various speakers, as it was devoted to the friendship of peoples. Over the heads of participants fluttered the historical and national flags of many republics comprising the USSR. First to speak was journalist Andriy Kulikov, of the NEWS FROM UKRAINE paper.

[Begin recording] [Kulikov] Citizens of Ukraine, I request you to honor with a minute of silence the memory of the millions of victims of the genocide and internationality conflicts which were created and provoked by the totalitarian system. [silence observed] This system is now retreating, but very slowly. It resolutely opposes those who advocate peaceful but concrete changes in our life, and attempts to provoke in Ukraine internationality hostility. Let us take an oath today that never again will human blood be shed in Ukraine, that we will be able to protect the life, honor, and dignity of our compatriots, regardless of their nationality.

[Unidentified moderator] Next to speak will be Hlakun, representatives of the Czechs' and Slovaks Association.

[Hlakun] I am speaking to you on behalf of this association which is being formed in Ukraine. I'd like to say to you, Kievites, a few words of gratitude and respect for the Ukrainian people, among whom I have grown up and become an individual. All rumors which are now being spread by black-guard forces on the possibility of pogroms and internationality disunity in Ukraine are aimed at blackening Rukh, which unites all nationalities living in the republic. Do not believe these rumors. All they are trying to do is to prevent you from voting for independent candidates at the elections. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Representatives of many other nationalities living in Ukraine also spoke at the meeting. In conclusion, a unanimous resolution was adopted.

Ukraine's Shevchenko Seeks Candidacy Withdrawal

LD2802095590 Kiev in English to Europe 1900 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Valentina Shevchenko, has sent a telegram to the district electoral commission with a request to withdraw her candidature from ballotting to people's deputies of the Ukraine. However, the Central Electoral Commission informed that it had received many telegrams from the residents of the settlement where Valentina Shevchenko was registered as candidate, who asked to change her decision.

Voroshilovgrad Obkom First Secretary Resigns

LD1602151390 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] A plenary meeting of the regional Communist Party [oblast] Committee has been held in Voroshilovgrad. It considered an organizational issue by relieving Lyakhov from the post of first secretary of the regional party committee, thus satisfying his request for resignation.

Skepticism Over New Ivano-Frankovsk Official

LD1602112190 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] At the plenum of the Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast Party Committee [Obkom], Zinoviy Kuravskyy was elected first secretary. Up to then, he had worked as head of the obkom's Ideology Department.

How were the results of this plenum received by people of the oblast? Our correspondent in Ivano-Frankovsk, Anatoliy Vasylyshyn, reports:

[Vasylyshyn] In diverse ways, from an approval to complete disaproval. If you ask for my own opinion, here it is: All this was merely a cosmetic repair. Will the newly elected leader be able to pull the cart amid the old apparatus, albeit in a new situation? I am not sure, time will show.

Kiev Academician Denounces Rally 'Democracy'

PM2702152990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Skopenko, academician of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences and rector of Kiev State University named for T. Shevchenko: "A Worrying Topic: Who Benefits From Strong-Arm Tactics"]

[Text] Rumors spread. About future pogroms. Violence. Even civil war. Where from? Why?

Plenty of ideas are being expressed about this. Both in spoken and written form. VECHIRNIY KIYIV's editorial office even got together a "roundtable" to explain the circumstances. "I personally," the moderator opened the conversation, "do not see any political structure or organization which would take advantage of interethnic hatred." But there was an objection in the editorial mailbag: "What organization, what individual would frankly state this, knowing that the propaganda and implementation of racial hatred is a crime and is punishable by law?"

Both ideas are abstract ones. But quite specific circumstances are aggravating the situation in the city. And among them is the succession of rallies which are fanning already fiery passions to the limit.

Let's take the action when one Sunday recently the people of Kiev joined hands, forming a human chain. Supposedly in the name of unity and perestroyka. As far as the organizers of the human chain are concerned—the action succeeded. At a first, fleeting glance that is indeed so, it seems. But... so long as you don't take into account the fact that some people, while stretching one hand out in friendship, with the other raised a placard proclaiming "Occupiers out!" or "Soviets without communists!" So long as you don't see the idiots hanging around in SS uniforms. And you don't hear the hysterical predictions from the rally rostrum saying that the time will come when a new Petlyura and Bandera [reference to Ukrainian counterrevolutionary leaders] will lead people into battle. But how can you fail to see or hear? Those butchers' crimes will never be erased from the people's memory...

Maybe, as the leaders of the so-called informal (in fact they are fully formed and sufficiently well organized) movements claim, they are just isolated, and therefore atypical outbursts. But they are being repeated in all the actions organized by them. Why? Because "certain individual" loudmouths cannot be controlled? So, if they cannot cope even with them, why then, in seeking permission for the rallies, processions and so on, guarantee that they will take place in accordance with the established norms and rules?

Maybe something quite different is at issue? Is it only through naivete that a USSR people's deputy in a broadcast interview openly advocates solving problems not in a parliamentary fashion but by means of... a revolt? And does the leader of the democratic movement claim without a shadow of a doubt that democratization is possible only by means of total protest against literally everything? But naivete is by no means always harmless either. When there are calls day after day and again and again to solve everything—including the most serious, truly fateful questions—by exclusively strong-arm tactics, many people unintentionally give way to the most gloomy assumptions.

What kind of naivete is this! And the aims are not very well hidden—at almost every intersection you hear: "Seize power"; and the methods chosen are not accidental. Passions at rallies are uncontrollable only to the uninitiated. And the crowd also has its own spontaneous "laws." To the person who finds himself in it, unity with those around him and a common purpose—particularly of the destructive kind—make it possible, for example, to feel stronger. And because in deciding any problem the crowd believes that it is operating not only on behalf of the people but is also identifying with the people, this feeling is exaggerated. Moreover, the degree of assuredness is directly proportional to the size: The larger the crowd the more it seems that it represents the people.

It is absurd to claim that the crowd at a rally is not part of the people. It is. And we absolutely must listen to its opinions and demands, and react to them. But—reasonably! The effect of the crowd must in no way be forgotten. And a feature of it, in addition to everything else, is also that a person who finds himself in a crowd acquires the ability to do and say almost the opposite of what he has just said. Rumors in a crowd take on the aura of authenticity, and passions flare up more easily than dry tinder. Because its mass is a very fluid concept, and at almost any moment it can become critical, after which, as is well known, an explosion is inevitable.

Often the crowd is like that which in technology is called the "black box." One signal is given on entry and another on exit, but what happens inside the "box" is anyone's guess. It is not easy to resist this process even in the simplest of situations. For instance, the Ukrainian Students' Union has recently made its existence known. The idea of it—to unite students to solve their professional questions—can only be welcomed. But the "black box" effect manifested here: Aside from the problems of improving the educational process and other quite legitimate demands, there also appeared a slogan to exclude all sociopolitical sciences from the curriculum, and to close the appropriate departments. There would be a strike if the demands were not satisfied.

So you have to demonstrate the obvious: That university education presupposes a certain level of knowledge below which it is no longer university education, which is why it is simply impossible to exclude this same philosophy from the curriculum. Both in Cambridge and Oxford the philosophy course includes Marxist-Leninist philosophy. So it is difficult to explain even in an

auditorium of like-minded people whose professional credentials are clearly defined. But on a seething, multicolored square?

Look how easily the wave of "oblast revolutions" moves. In one and the same scenario in the course of a month we in the Ukraine replaced first secretaries in almost a third of the oblast party committees. A rally (in most cases unsanctioned) assembles for the first reason which comes up. People forget the reason right away. But then the demand is made: "Down with so and so!" Why him? For heaven's sake! What is going on in the oblast? The stores are empty. There are not enough kindergartens, hospitals, or apartments. Down with...

The list of our troubles is a fair one. But what about dumping all of them on the secretary? Is this really fair, is this really decent? In another situation, not a rally, they would most likely assess more correctly precisely what he is guilty of, and whose guilt they are trying to pin on him. Another person performs the duties of secretary for a number of months. But a detailed conversation is no good to the forces which are destabilizing the situation—you can't achieve your aims that way. And "Down With!..." can be heard increasingly loudly. The first successes noticeably strengthened the vocal chords. We end up with a paradox. Before the newly elected secretary has time to get to his office people are already demanding his resignation.

Party officials still don't admit it aloud, but even if the present musical chairs for cadres doesn't mean panic on the part of many of them, it probably does indicate elementary faintheartedness.

Why agree with any calls of "down with"? Of course, people's opinion needs to be taken into account. But reelections are a party matter. And the multiparty system which is taking shape quite rapidly demands, I would say, that we take a more resolute and firmer approach to interference in the CPSU's internal affairs by forces which are not very friendly toward it. I am convinced that it is time for us to establish more clearly who's who, and to treat supporters and opponents accordingly.

People want to understand what is happening in the state, and why the ideals of generations are being crushed so easily. And something has to be found to counter the scathing phrases of figures who have grown up in an atmosphere of negation and groundless criticism. They don't care what shoots the seeds scattered by them will produce. To ensure against that bitter harvest [oblique reference to 12th century patriotic Russian epic "The Chronicle of Igor's Campaign"] we should help both the youth who is thinking about life and the factory worker to make sense of the strategies of cunning speeches, to scrutinize their true meaning, and what lies behind a certain figure's actions. I am not going to produce formulas about how this can be done. Many of them are well known, others need to found. I shall say one thing: The rally is no help here.

Knowing for sure that I will be accused of conservatism, all the same I shall venture to suggest that the attitude both to rallies and to everything that ends with ultimatums should be gradually changed. There has been no initial experience of any creative role. At best the unequivocal decision of the "yes or no," "for or against" type can be made at rallies. So let us assemble for a rally only in those instances when such a laconic assessment may benefit society. If a problem needs to be studied, analyzed, and weighed, it is more convenient all the same for specialists to solve it.

In my view, it is even worse with ultimatums. Usually they are presented to the defeated opponent, and he is left with the right to accept or refuse. But to whom are we going to address our ultimatums? In fact it often turns out that... we address them to ourselves. But we must make different demands on ourselves. Even according to the bible, the moment when manna came down from heaven happened only once in the history of mankind. Before and after that everything had to be obtained through one's own labor.

Does anyone now seriously hope for a repeat of "manna from heaven"? Otherwise, whence the present avalanche of demands? Does anyone now seriously expect manna from heaven? Surely not. For all that, the expectation of a miracle is tangible. But it still hasn't happened. It is beginning to seem that if we shout a bit louder, push a bit harder, it will suddenly happen...

There are mistakes as well as euphoria. Alas, the price of them is excessively great. So, maybe we will finally realize that a miracle can't be produced either by shouting at rallies, or by bloodshed—or by any strong-arm tactics? Work alone is required. Without artificial complications and impediments, without hysterical spectacles in squares and all manner of dangerous provocations. Just harmonious work in the name of perestroyka, in the name of our common future. The government and every collective now have a lot of work to do.

Sumy Meeting Demands Party Committees Resignation

LD2202156990 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1345 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting attended by thousands of people was held in Sumy on Sunday [18 February]. It was convened by informal organizations. In response to calls made at the meeting, a plenum of the Oblast Party Committee was held, which adopted a decision on immediate measures with regard to each point of the meeting's resolution.

In connection with the working people's demand to the Oblast Party Committee and the City Party Committee to resign en masse, the committees have been instructed to prepare reports for the conferences to be held on the dates that will be determined soon. No resignations will be accepted before then.

Preparatory commissions for holding report-back-election conferences have been formed, and they include representatives of work collectives and informal organizations. It will be the commission's duty to form the new compositions of the oblast and city party committees via direct elections held on an alternative basis.

Yazov Halts Ukraine Radar Station Construction

LD2702161190 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] A message has been sent to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet from USSR Minister of Defense Dmitriy Yazov. In it, the minister points out the following:

Taking into account the anxiety of the population in the Transcarpathian region, we consider it necessary to agree to the proposals of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet to stop the construction of a radar station in Mukachevo. A competent commission has been set up to study the opportunities for such a project functioning in the given locality and its influence on people's health. The construction of the radar station has been stopped until a decision is made by the commission.

Moldavian Parliamentary, Local Elections Reported

Elections Held

LD2502205290 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 25 TASS—Parliamentary and local elections were held in Moldavia, Tajikistan, and Kirghizia today.

A day earlier, Lithuanians went to the polls to chose their parliament.

Following a two-month marathon, a total of 2.8 million Moldavians with voting rights were due to choose 380 parliamentarians from 1,892 candidates running for the Supreme Soviet and 28,335 representatives from 39,715 contenders running for local soviets.

Parliamentary election results will be available on March 1, and local returns on March 7.

In Lithuania, contestants often ran on conflicting platforms, including on such issues as future statehood.

Some clamored for total independence and secession from the Soviet Union, while others called for a Lithuania within a renewed Soviet federation.

Most constituencies had multi-candidate elections.

Preliminary Election Results

LD2702205490 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 27 Feb 90

[by TASS correspondent Georg Mikhailin]

[Text] Kishinev February 27 TASS—The preliminary returns of the elections of people's deputies to the Moldavian parliament and of deputies to local soviets, held on February 25, were announced at today's news conference by Vladimir Kiktenko, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of Soviet Moldavia.

He said these elections were the first truly democratic elections in the history of the Moldavian Republic. Voters showed high activity and had a choice.

The voter turn-out amounted to 83.49 percent. As many as 1,892 candidates competed for 380 seats on the republic's parliament. As many as 41,600 candidates competed for 27,955 places in municipal, district and rural councils.

As many as 139 members of Moldavian parliament have already been elected. Among them are First Secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Pyotr Luchinskiy who earned 92.58 percent of the votes, President of the Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Mircha Snegur (88.17), and Chairman of the Moldavian Council of Ministers Pyotr Paskar (91.25).

In a fortnight there will be run-off elections in 237 deputies in districts where more than two candidates ran, and not one of them earned the needed number of votes, Kiktenko said.

In eight weeks there will be new elections in three districts in which not one of the two candidates earned more than 50 percent of the votes. In one district, the returns of the elections to the Supreme Soviet and local government bodies are being established.

Popular Front Wins

LD2702173490 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The Moldavian Popular Front won at Sunday's [25 February] parliamentary elections in its republic. This was reported by Front spokesman Mikhail Gimphu in an interview with the news agency INTERFAX. He claimed that practically all Front candidates were elected and could now influence political and economic life in Moldavia. In almost one half of the electoral districts a new round of voting will have to be held because none of the candidates collected the necessary number of votes.

Moldavian Minister of Culture Replaced

LD2502154290 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 p3

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has appointed Comrade Ion Spiridonovich Unguryanu as Moldavian SSR minister of culture by a decree dated 10 February 199. [passage omitted]

The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet has released Comrade Yevgeniy Vasiliyevich Sobor from

his post as Moldavian minister of culture in connection with his transfer to other work.

Moldavian Newspaper To Carry Language Supplement

LD1902161990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] ANA SOZU, [Mother's Word] a supplement in the Gagauz language to SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA, published twice monthly has reached subscribers in the republic. The newspaper has thousands of subscribers in Azerbaijan too. The newspaper carries an interview by the editor Todur Zanet with Allashukur Pasha-zade, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of the Transcaucasus. The newspaper includes readers' letters from Nakhichevan, Lenkoran, and Sadrabad. The newspaper also has interviews with USSR people's deputies Yeltsin, Yevtushenko, Zelinskiy, and Khodyrko, as well as an article by Aleksandr Aleksandrov published in the last issue of NOVOYE VREMYA journal entitled "GAGAUZES." Page four of the newspaper carries a glossary of Gagauz Turkish words and compound words are given in Russian.

Caucasus

Reportage Continues on Azerbaijani Situation

Border Rayons Normalizing

NC1602150990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Excerpt] The situation in our republic's border rayons is gradually normalizing. A report from Kubatlinskiy rayon said that recently there has been mutual [word indistinct]. The people who left the border towns are now returning to their own places. Meanwhile, relations with neighboring rayons are being restored, roads are being opened, and transportation services are operating. More than 200 families that left the rayon have returned, and finding them jobs or creating new jobs, particularly for the youths, are problems that must be resolved. [passage omitted]

Kubatlinskiy, Kel'badzharskiy Rayons

NC0602161290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] The first secretaries of Kubatlinskiy and Kel'badzharskiy Rayons have informed our correspondent by telephone that the situation in their rayons has started to normalize as a result of the effective measures that have been taken. No breaches of law or criminal offenses were recorded in the two rayons in the past 24 hours. The situation remained peaceful.

Regarding the question of incidents [words indistinct], working life is returning to normal in Kubatlinskiy Rayon, with the exception of a number of towns near the Armenian border from which residents were moved. The situation is being controlled by the internal affairs units of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Gendzkha, Sheki Situation 'Improving'

NC2002115490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 16 Feb 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] About one-third of the industrial establishments in Gendzha are operating partially or not at all. However, the situation is gradually improving. [passage indistinct]

The situation in Sheki is generally peaceful. No extraordinary incident has been recorded. All the establishments and administrations in Sabirabad are operating. [sentence indistinct]

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Improving

NC2802113590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 27 Feb 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and VYSHKA have published a report by an AZERINFORM [words indistinct] from Stepanakert under the heading: "The State of Emergency Rayon."

The correspondent disclosed that a large quantity of handmade handguns, explosives, and [word indistinct] has been discovered in the region. Militia Colonel (?Dashkar), deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration of the Maintenance of Public Order, has said it is essential to determine the methods used to supply arms and military equipment to the people and the places where they are prepared under [word indistinct] conditions. This will contribute toward the effort made to expose those who violate the laws and the criminal culprits and to create the conditions required to end bloodshed.

The correspondent noted that (?many of the vital establishments) in Stepanakert are not working and that the strike actions in them are continuing. Nevertheless, life is returning to normal. The gradual fall in the number of interethnic disputes indicates that the social and political situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is improving.

Transport Situation Stabilizing

AU2702143490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Feb 90 p 5

[CTK report: "Damages Worth 570 Million; a Gradual Stabilization of the Situation in Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Moscow—Lieutenant General Boris Smyslov, first deputy chief of the Ministry of Interior troops, became the new military commander of Baku on Monday [19 February]. The former commander of the

Azerbaijan capital, Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinak, returned to his existing duties as chief of staff of the Ministry of Interior troops and first deputy chief of these troops. This was announced to CTK correspondent Zdenek Hejduk by Boris Michaylov, press representative of the USSR Ministry of Interior.

He said that the situation in Azerbaijan is gradually stabilizing. Based on information available to the Ministry of Interior, no serious cases of exacerbation of ethnic relations were recorded in this Transcaucasian republic last week.

The situation in transport is also stabilizing despite continuing problems with freight trains. More than 150 freight trains are waiting now on the Azerbaijan railways, 35 of which are destined for Armenia. Also more than 50 percent of the Azerbaijan enterprises continue to strike. The total damage since mid-January due to the armed conflict and strikes in Azerbaijan is estimated to be more than 570 million rubles.

Both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia the confiscation of arms from the population continues; its speed, however, is unsatisfactory, B. Michaylov said. This is especially true of Armenia, where a significantly higher number of thefts of arms from both army facilities and establishments of legal protection has been recorded. According to information from the Ministry of the Interior, a great number of various kinds of arms, including automatic ones, continues to be in the hands of the people.

Dzhul'fa Train Workers Refuse To Resume Work

NC2002114990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 16 Feb 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] AZERINFORM correspondents report that the situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is peaceful. The party and soviet organs' explanatory and propaganda work has been strengthened, and troops are maintaining law and order in the border rayons. However, the mechanical workers of the locomotive depot in Dzhul'fa are refusing to resume work because of the Armenian extremists' aggressive activities. They are demanding an effective guarantee for security on the Megri-('Kerkivan) section of the railroad tracks in Armenia.

Troops Raid Jalilabad Rayon Committee Building

LD1002174690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1920 GMT on 9 February carries in its "The view" program a video report from Jalilabad, Azerbaijan.

The report begins by showing the unidentified reporter, wearing military uniform, standing in front of armored transport vehicles and saying that he is in the town of Jalilabad, Azerbaijan. He says: "In order to film this report in the town, it was not necessary to wear military uniform, but our presence there was made conditional on our wearing it. There was no disorder in the town, but it was the first time in our lives that we had seen the storming of a rayon executive committee building. [video shows armed soldiers running toward a building, then interior scenes of vandalized offices] The fears turned out to be groundless. Good work has been done, not just by the intelligence services, but also by counterintelligence. The town had known for three days that troops were to be moved in. So, fortunately, not a single shot was fired and no one was hurt. It is calm here. True, we did not manage to meet the People's Front.

"There was no need to attack the party rayon committee, either. There was simply no one there. And it would not enter anyone's head to work in such conditions. The mass departure from the party was accompanied by this. [video shows scenes of vandalized offices] The recently elected secretary is in the hospital with injuries. But in general the situation is returning to normal."

The report then shows an unidentified military man saying, very indistinctly, that his role is just to maintain order. There is then an interview with another man.

He says, "I am (Nagir Nagir-Kady Ugla), chairman of the Jalilabadskiy Rayon Executive Committee.

The correspondent then asks: "Do you believe it was necessary to bring in troops here?"

Nagir answers: "No, I think not, because we are maintaining a normal situation. We are maintaining contacts with the unit and the regiment. We are working normally. Everyone is working. They stopped work for just three days. We had three days of mourning in connection with what happened in Baku and we did not work then. We are working all the time."

The correspondent asks: "So, there were no excesses against Russians or anyone?"

Nagir replies: "None at all. There was nothing.

The correspondent asks: "Are you aware that the leader of the People's Front here acted to prevent servicemen's relatives being sent away from here?"

Nagir answers: "He opposed their being sent away because nothing was anticipated against the Russian people or against our Russian fellow-countrymen. There were no threats, and so they demanded that they should not send their wives away."

The correspondent asks if it is "possible for us to meet this leader of the People's Front," with whom Nagir maintains close contact

Nagir answers: "Not at present, I think, because the radio has announced that all leaders of the People's Front are being arrested and they have gone into hiding somewhere."

Asked if he has normal relations with the leader of the People's Front, Nagir answers: "Yes, because I was elected by the whole people of Jalilabadskiy Rayon. So they maintain normal links with me and listen to me. Well, they have their own plans and we have the state plans. They go their way, and have not hindered us."

The correspondent then says: "Nagir became chairman of the rayon executive committee on New Year's Eve. A few days later, he left the party. At the time of his election, he was not a deputy and, therefore, a commission has expressed doubt about this (?his) authority."

Over a video of burned-out vehicles, the correspondent says: "The consequences of active operations were visible at the rayon militia department, too. The result of such a calamitous situation was that the militia ran away, but law and order was maintained."

The video then shows an interview with man in the uniform of a militia major.

The major says: "The militia will maintain their operational position. We shall catch up with those who were involved in these actions against Soviet power, detain them, and bring criminal charges against them. That is all: that is our duty. [passage indistinct] We are obliged to do this, it is our internationalist duty to the homeland. And all will be well.

"But as to the militia running away? In the first place, the militia did not run away. They fulfilled their duty. But when a mass of people came up and did all of this, the militia were powerless, and such events took place. "Major (Malik). On 10 January this year, Militia Major (Bair Malik) was appointed head of Jalilabadskiy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs.

The video then cuts to show a room with table, hand-operated food mincers, blocks of soap, and ground soap. The correspondent says that this equipment was used in making explosive devices which had blown up six schoolchildren, three of whom had died. There will be a report about this in the next program.

Situation on Iranian Border Remains 'Tense'

LD2702212290 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Baku February 27 AZERINFORM-TASS—The situation remains tense on the Soviet-Iranian border, the Azerbaijani KGB press group has reported.

Despite measures to create favourable conditions for contacts between relatives residing on either side of the border, cases of illegal crossing into Iran and back continue to be reported. In the past three days, 207 people crossed into Iran from Azerbaijani territory and 128 entered Soviet territory from Iran in ways contravening regulations.

Weapons and ammunition are transported in this way. On February 27, Nakhichevan residents G. Gasanov, 37, A. Panakhov, 28, V. Akperov, 41 and M. Kuliev, 32, were detained by border guards for unlawfully entering Soviet territory from Iran in Ilyichevsk district of the Nakhichevan region. These people had on them a hand gun of foreign make, cartridges for it and a sizable sum of Soviet and Iranian money. In addition, four foreign-made automatic guns were found near the place where the four people were arrested. It was established that the detainees had illegally crossed into Iran on February 22 and were declared missing. Investigation into the fact is under way.

Notice Details 26 Feb Baku Criminal Offenses

NC2802105690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Notice by the Baku City Internal Affairs Administration—read by Lieutenant Colonel Dava Dastiyev, deputy chief of the Baku City Internal Affairs Administration Crime Prevention Department]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, good evening! The situation in Baku has not significantly changed over the past day. Eight criminal offenses were recorded in the republic's capital during the day, five of which concerned theft of state and personal property. The internal affairs organs detained seven citizens for various criminal offenses. [passage omitted]

Military servicemen detained 98 individuals during the day. Thirty-two of them were detained for violating the curfew, 56 for failing to comply with the passport regime, and nine for violating the requirements of the USSR Supreme Soviet's decree dated 15 January 1990.

Driver Mukhtarov Ibragim Mustafa ogly failed to comply with the military procuracy's instructions about detaining his Moskovich car, which was registered as [word indistinct], on Salzade Street in Nasimi District at 0015 this morning. He tried to hit the military servicemen with his vehicle. The military servicemen first fired warning shots and then fired at Mukhtarov, wounding him. He was taken to the (?Timoshskiy) Hospital, where he died of his wounds. A search revealed that he did not possess a driving license and that the registration numbers of his vehicle did not match the vehicle's technical identification document. The incident occurred during the curfew hours, and the military servicemen followed their instructions about using their arms. The military procuracy of the Baku garrison has launched a criminal investigation into the incident.

The Baku commandant has decided to restrict vehicles' entry into the city as of 28 February in order to avoid creating tension during the arrangements that have been made for the mourning ceremonies in Baku on 2 March. Official information will be published in the press about this.

Armenian, Azerbaijani Officials Continue Dialogue

LD2702225290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting held in Lachin became a continuation of the dialogue begun 10 days ago, with the mediation of the office of the military commandant of the state of emergency district, between leaders of a number of border rayons of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Even after the declaration of the state of emergency, tension has not been reduced here. As far as firing on border rayons is concerned, after the dialogue began, firing assumed an incidental nature. Khanlarov and Kachaturyan, militia leaders of Lachin and (?Georus) gave information about these cases of firing.

At the meeting leaders of the internal affairs departments of Kubatly, Dzhebrail, Zangelan, and Shusha Rayons and their colleagues from Kafan, Megri, and Sisian Rayons of Armenia talked about normalization of the situation in the borders of the republics. Militia Colonel (Paskar), deputy head of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration, believes that the fact that crimes committed in the interethnic sphere ae going unpunished does not help law enforcement bodies of both republics to successfully fulfill duties during such a difficult time for Azerbaijan and Armenia. According to both sides, opening of main roads too may contribute to regulation of relations and elimination of tension. Militia Major General Koryakovtsev, head of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's State Motor Vehicles Inspection Main Administration, Major General Safronov; militay commandant of the state of emergency district; militia Colonel Ostatkin, first deputy head of the Political Administration of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry; and senior officials of the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Azerbaijan Socialist Republic and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic also talked about this subject. It was decided to continue the dialogue in the Sisian Rayon in Armenian territory after 20 days.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Talks Stalled

NC2702134290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[By Mavr Danielyan]

[Text] We have obtained, via cable, the report prepared by TASS correspondents Bitkin and Shulman on negotiations to stabilize the situation at the Armenian-Azerbaijan border regions. It will probably be published in the central press, and the Soviet readers will form an opinion about the situation in this region.

That report caught our attention for two reasons. First, during the negotiations from 14 to 24 February, the exchange of fire diminished. Second, both sides believe that unblocking the roads will help resolve the situation. The question that arises is that if both sides favor unblocking the roads, then who is blocking these roads? The report does not address this. Besides, no agreement has been reached on lifting the blockade. I phoned Robert Aleksanyan, first secretary of the Gorisskiy Rayon Party Committee, and Grigor Grigoryan, deputy minister of the republic's internal affairs to clarify these questions.

Aleksanyan said that the exchange of fire has not diminished; instead it has intensified during the negotiations. Attacks even took place against Degh, Khoznavar, and Aravot. The deputy minister said that even on 24 February, the last day of negotiations, starting at 2115 there was almost 45 minutes of continuous shooting from Lachin toward a firm in Aravot village. What is more, if until now the attacks and shootings were directed at the peaceful population, when the negotiations were concluded on 25 February at 1030, six or seven people fired on the Army post at Sevchur from 700 meters away.

Both sides' claiming to favor unblocking the roads does not coincide with the facts, says Grigoryan. In fact, there was talk on the need to open Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road, Megri-Nakhichevan-Yerevan-Kirovabad road, Idzhevan-Kazakh-Stepankert road, and Khntsoresk-Kubatlu road. However, only the soldiers and the Armenian representatives have spoken in favor of that. The Azerbaijani representatives believed that this issue should be resolved by the Armenian and Azerbaijani Governments, and the Armenian Government not only wants but demands this from all levels. However, the Azerbaijanis set the precondition that for the roads to be unblocked, Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] must submit to the Azerbaijani Organizing Committee in Stepanakert. This is the real situation. Of course, it does not pay for the authors of the TASS report to get into the facts; they are satisfied with fragmentary [words indistinct].

I would like to talk about yet another pair. Yesterday, VREMYA's Seven-Day Program at the central television mentioned that the so-called disorders in Baku were the result of the grave conditions that the Azerbaijanis who had fled Armenia face. They have no homes, no jobs, etc. [words indistinct]. This idea was expressed in the fourth issue of OGONYEK magazine and in the third issue of the [SOVETSKAYA MALAVERCHERKY] of Lithuania. Thus, it is clear that this argument is not without ulterior motives. Instead it is an (?attempt) to mislead the people and a way to justify their position.

If we just ignore all the facts and only talk simple mathematics, the following situation confronts us: 170,000 Azerbaijanis left Armenia for Azerbaijan, and 300,000 Armenians have left Azerbaijan. If the refugees are given these homes, there are still 130,000 Armenian homes unoccupied. We know this fact, but the Soviet readers do not know it and could be easily mislead.

Armenians Urged To Return to Azerbaijan Villages

NC2602173790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] The villages of Getashen, Kamo, and Azat, located to the north of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] [words indistinct] must be strengthened and the number of their inhabitants increased. Toward this end, residents of these three villages held a meeting in Yerevan today. Here is a report by Mavr Danielyan:

[Begin recording] [Danielyan] It is as if the usurpers of Armenia had studied a map of Armenia to discover its weak points and plan invasion routes. The usurpers have depopulated the Armenian villages to the north of the NKAO over the last two years and have [word indistinct] Getashen and nearby Kamo and Azat. A struggle is now being waged for these villages and for Armenia's northern gates to the NKAO. The greatest battle for these gates took place in mid-January of this year when an armed mob numbering many thousands and using military hardware either stolen from soldiers or donated by them was routed at the entrance to Azat village. This gave hope to the inhabitants of those villages. However, in the meantime hundreds of inhabitants had left the villages and temporarily taken refuge in various regions of Armenia.

Meetings are now being held to persuade them to return to their villages. People from Getashen, Kamo, and Azat are gathered here. The first person to speak was Vazgen Oganesyan, a Yerevan war and labor veteran:

[Oganesyan] Dear compatriots, the people of Artsakh [NKAO] committed an error when they did not support General Andranik when he entered the NKAO in 1919. Your forefathers committed this error. Now their descendents are such patriots that they are giving their houses to the Turks [passage indistinct]. I beg you to return [passage indistinct]. The fall of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen subrayon would mean the fall of Armenia as a whole.

[Danielyan] He was followed by a representative of Kamo village:

[Unidentified speaker] All the people of our village will go back. I say this in the name of the entire village. However, these people must be able to lead secure and normal lives [passage indistinct].

[Danielyan] Grant Guruchiyan, chairman of the Getashen village council, then spoke:

[(Guruchiyan)] Those who sell Armenian land have no right to live in Armenia. I cannot forgive such people [passage indistinct]. I appeal to you all to return there (?or) to sell your land to Armenians.

[Danielyan] Isaak Karakhanyan, hero of the USSR, from Getashen said:

[Karankhanyan] Those comrades who have come from Azat, Kamo, and Getashen are under an obligation to return and not abandon Armenian cemeteries to desecration at the hands of the Turks [words indistinct]. Those who sell Armenian land are traitors.

[Danielyan] The Armenian Council of Ministers has formulated measures to ensure normal living conditions in these villages. Those at the meeting were briefed on these measures. After the meeting those willing to return (?met separately). Twenty-two people had already returned to Azat and Kamo. A list of those willing to return next was drawn up. The meeting concluded that people should return to their native land or sell their land to Armenians if unable or unwilling to go back. Thirty-two people left for these villages today by helicopter, 20 of whom went to Azat and Kamo. [end recording]

Armenian Operational Staff Reviews Situation

NC2702144390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The work carried out by the operational staff of the Special Situation Committee does not merely focus on the search for constructive solutions to the problems arising in the republic, but also aims at (?eliminating) various phenomena which engender tension. The perception here is that if a problem (?persists), this means that the administrative mechanism is somehow not functioning.

The following example will clarify this point. During its 26 February meeting the operational staff stated that a number of young men who, by way of exception, had been sent to the earthquake zone to serve their military terms in the Army construction units, are willfully abandoning their units. The prevailing opinion is that this phenomenon must be resolutely fought against because the (?violation) of regulations will not help the speedy revival of the destroyed cities in these zone, where energetic work is required. Nevertheless, the participants in the meeting tried to uncover the reasons forcing the young men to resort to such illegal acts; that is, the willful abandonment of their Army units. What do we know about these young men and their concerns? This question was energetically debated at the meeting. All the participants, from officials to the representatives of the informal organizations, took part in this discussion. The conclusion of this unscheduled debate was that effective work must be carried out amongst the people on the spot and at all levels of society. Only by such work would it be possible to prevent a number of undesirable phenomena, including the willful abandonment of their units by Army servicemen.

The operational situation in the republic remains calm on the surface, but tension is felt in many areas. The Armenian villages of Aravot and Degh in the Gorisskiy rayon and the Army guardpost near Nuvadi village have come under fire from the neighboring republic during the last two days. There were no casualties.

Fear was expressed on many occasions at the fact that a considerable quantity of weapons and explosive materials are in the hands of the people. This is having an impact on the ordinary crime figures. The last two days were no exception in this respect. According to the preliminary data, a resident of Yeghegnatsorskiy rayon killed himself while handling a gun imprudently. A student in Kirovakan injured himself while playing with an explosive device. There has also been dangerous use of weapons. Unidentified persons detonated an explosive device near a (? coffee shop) in the city in the early morning of 26 February. Fortunately there were no casualties.

The operational staff took cognizance of the statement of the Communications Ministry to the effect that it will soon submit for consideration a draft plan on the enhancement of communication lines with the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The plan is scheduled to be implemented within a month and it will ensure the reliable reception of Armenian television in Stepanakert.

The hospitals are caring for [word indistinct] 230 persons. The rapid deployment medical teams, which in emergency cases are sent to NKAO and adjacent Armenian villages, are in operation. Specialists—members of the World Doctors Movement, which has a center here—are also providing medical assistance to the NKAO population.

TRUD Reviews Situation in Armenia

90US0555A Moscow TRUD in Russian
13 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by TRUD correspondent in Yerevan G. Karapetyan: "Armenia: Cold Times"]

[Text] A. Aroyan, first deputy chief of the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasus Railroad told me: "There is realistic hope that within days the economic blockade of our republic will come to an end."

The resumption of traffic is gradual: On 7 and 8 February, one train with freight for the national economy passed through Norashen in each direction on the first day, and two trains on the second day. At the same time, 31 trains arrived from the direction of Georgia on 6 and 7 February with 867 cars and tank cars with fuel oil, diesel fuel, gasoline, as well as foodstuffs, manufactured goods, and homes for the earthquake zone.

They came in the nick of time: Fuel and electricity which are worth their weight in gold are in short supply. The number of enterprises which have been forced to discontinue production is increasing. Losses already amount to hundreds of millions of rubles. The restoration program in the earthquake zone has failed; entire detachments of construction workers have been leaving their sites in the zone. For a month now, the residents of the republic have been watching the programs of Central and Armenian television only after 1100 hours.

Local newspapers published the long-awaited resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia and the republic Council of Ministers "On Enlisting the Unemployed Able-Bodied Population of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic for Construction and Restoration Work in the Earthquake Zone, as Well as Work in Other Sectors of the National Economy of the Republic." It is designed to stop migrations for work which have become a mass phenomenon in a number of rayons despite the severe shortage of construction workers in Armenia.

There is one more hopeful trend: As a result of the explanatory work among the populace by party and soviet functionaries in the field, as well as political officers of the Yerevan Garrison and representatives of the Armenian Pannational Movement [AOD], increasing quantities of weapons stolen in January are being returned.

In the opinion of the operations headquarters of the republic council for the emergency, the situation in the republic as a whole remains tense. It is destabilized by the exchange of fire which occurs from time to time on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

On 9 February, a rally attended by many thousands of people was held in Theater Square in Yerevan. Leaders of the AOD spoke at the rally. They said that negotiations in Riga with representatives of the People's Front of Azerbaijan were annulled, and all preliminary agreements were revoked after information was received about new incidents in the border zone of the two republics. Nonetheless, the need for further contacts with the People's Front of Azerbaijan was mentioned.

It was also announced there that 20 February should be considered a day off and celebrated as the second anniversary of the decision by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast authorities to secede from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

It was proposed at the meeting to support the AOD concept of co-opting Deputy Robert Kocharyan, one of the leaders of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast National Council, to the position of deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet which is still vacant following the departure from the republic of an Azeri deputy who held this post.

A telegram was read from N.I. Ryzhkov with an urgent and well-reasoned request and appeal to resume the production of chemical products which are necessary in order to ensure the life of the population of not only Armenia but the entire country. The government estimates that losses due to the closure of the "Nairit" go into millions of rubles per year. Nonetheless, participants in the rally were told that picketing of the "Nairit" had resumed, and that the decision to prevent the resumption of production was firm.

Organizers of the meeting proposed that the speech by G. Arutyunuan, first secretary of the central committee of

the Communist Party of Armenia, at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum be condemned for suggesting that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast be subordinated to the center. This is, supposedly, a departure from the decisions previously made by the Supreme Soviet of the republic concerning the union of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh... As can be seen, passions, unfortunately, are not dying down which does not facilitate a reduction of tension.

Armenian Railways Now Loading, Unloading Goods

LD2702192290 Moscow Domestic Service in Rusian 1600 GMTG 27 Feb 90

[Text] The long awaited sound of locomotives is again heard on the Armenian railways after a break of nearly two months. For the third day running the movement of trains supplying fuel, raw materials, semi-finished goods, and foodstuffs continues day and night. In addition to the unloading at sidings of works and factories in Yerevan and Kirovakan, the loading of goods from Armenian enterprises continues. These are goods to be supplied by contract not only in our country, but also abroad. The signals are on green throughout the Armenian railways and this has made it possible in the last 24 hours alone to let through 20 heavy trains, which is in keeping with the norm for goods traffic.

Military Flying Supplies, Materials to Armenia

PM1802211390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Feb 90) p 4

[Colonel A. Manushkin report under the general heading "Transport Problems"]

[Text] Thousands of tonnes of freight are being airlifted by military transporters into the earthquake-affected regions of Armenia.

The Military Transport Aviation command point is working strenuously night and day. Recently the number of so-called commercial shipments on behalf of the national economy has increased sharply. Il-76's, An-22's, and other heavy transports are flying out to the most diverse parts of the country and abroad. But the most intensive traffic is bound for the earthquake-affected regions of Armenia. These flights are flown by military aviators. They are delivering not just food but construction materials, too, ranging from nails to sanitary engineering equipment.

Lieutenant Colonel A. Plankin, chief of a Military Transport Aviation department, showed me the air shipment log book. An Il-76, whose crew is under the command of Captain 1st Class V. Parunov, a military airman, is due to fly from Leningrad to Leninakan. This flight is being made on behalf of a Leningrad construction committee whose specialists are working in Armenia. The aircraft is being loaded.

Construction materials and various components have been flown into Leninakan by crews commanded by Major I. Navarnov, Captain S. Zhukov, and Captain S. Bryuzgin. This is an almost daily event. In the first 6 weeks of this year alone, military transport aviation has delivered around 1,000 tonnes of various cargoes and made more than 40 flights.

"If we fly in everything needed for construction in the earthquake region," the aviators say, "then the houses built there will be truly 'precious.'"

The newspapers are now publishing figures on the total damage caused to the country's economy by the enterprises that are standing idle in Azerbaijan and Armenia. But who will assess the damage due to the fact that we are forced to deliver the most commonplace materials by plane rather than by train?

Armenian Interior Ministry Issues Crime Numbers

NC2702115890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Statement by the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry issued on 26 February; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The situation in the republic remained complex from 19-25 February 1990. Tension was higher in Ordzhonikidzevskiy, Komissarov, Spandaryanskiy, and Mashtotsskiy rayons in Yerevan, in Leninakan and Kirovakan, and in Edzhmiatsinskiy rayon.

One hundred twenty-two criminal cases are under investigation, and three criminals have been detained. Four missing persons have been found, and eight crimes have been solved. During the week, five crimes involving firearms have taken place, and an investigation has been launched to find the culprits.

So far, the many requests of the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry to return the stolen arms, munitions, and explosives have not been effective. These weapons are being returned slowly, and this could be dangerous.

Ossetians, Armenians Stage Rally in Tbilisi

90US0495A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Jan 90 p 3

[Georgian Information Agency report: "The Demands Are the Same"]

[Text] A rally devoted to the situation in Shida Kartli took place in Tbilisi on the evening of 17 January in front of the Central Committee building of the Georgian Communist Party. For several days now a group of women from Tskhinvali Rayon has been in the main hallway of this building.

Expressing resolute protest with regard to the actions of separatist forces in the oblast, they are demanding punishment of individuals guilty of committing grave crimes, in particular the murder of a child in the village of Prisi, and abolition of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast with a restoration there of order and calm.

The rally was opened by Zviad Gamsakhurdiya (the "Helsinki Group"), who specially emphasized the urgent need to ensure the safety of every individual, to safeguard life and dignity. Vazha Adamiya (the Merab Kostav Society) spoke to rally participants about the present situation in South Ossetia. He noted that the situation is gradually stabilizing in the region but stressed at the same time that isolated instances of provocative attacks were still taking place. At the source of the tension, he stated, were a certain limited number of individuals of Ossetian nationality. As far as the Ossetian people are concerned, the overwhelming majority (more than 80 percent) do not share the views of this group of adventurists who are attempting to sow discord in the noble movement for an independent Georgia, where real conditions will be created to protect the interests of all citizens regardless of their nationality.

But the hunger strike of representatives of socio-political associations continues outside the Government House. Rallies take place here every day. Their participants are demanding that the state independence of Georgia be restored.

This same day, a rally took place in Tbilisi at the initiative of the city's Armenian community. Rally participants approved appeals addressed to Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet M.S. Gorbachev and to the Armenian and Azeri population of Georgia. The appeals state in particular that today, when the situation in Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has reached a boiling point and conflict has reached its peak, we call upon people to heed the voice of reason and refrain from any conflict-threatening activity among our peoples on the hospitable Georgian land, for any conflict on interethnic grounds causes serious detriment to the struggle for an independent Georgia. And so we will be responsible for the destiny of that country on whose land we live.

North Ossetia Oblast Replaces First Secretary

LD2402211590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 24 FeB 90

[Text] A North Ossetian CPSU Oblast Committee Plenum, which took place today, considered an organizational matter. The plenum freed Comrade Dzasokhov from the position of first secretary of Oblast Party Committee in connection with his election as a chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs. After discussions in primary party organizations, town and rayon party committees, four candidates were suggested for the position of the first secretary to the plenum. As a result of a secret vote, Comrade A. Kh. Galazov, who had been the rector of the North Ossetian K.L. Khetagurov State University, was elected to the position of the first secretary of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU.

Accident Reported at Georgia Power Station

LD1202194990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] A report from a TASS correspondent in Georgia. An accident on the high mountain sector of the electric power line connecting Georgia with the center has been cleared up. The republic's industrial potential has received substantial reinforcement: 10 million kilowatt/hours per day.

It was possible to cope with the assignment at the cost of great effort. However, this has not saved the economy from energy starvation. The accident at the Azerbaijan GRES [state regional electric power station] and the shortfall in the power supply from other sources have complicted Georgia's supply in the extreme. Consumption continues to be limited. Many major works and factories have been deprived of power, and only the requirements of those enterprises and services directly connected with the life-support of the population are being met.

Central Asia

Kirghizia Preliminary Election Results Published

LD2602115190 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Frunze February 26 TASS—Preliminary results of the elections to republican and local government bodies (soviets) have been published in Kirghizia. Ninety-two per cent of voters took part in the elections. Residents of rural areas were especially active.

Deputies were elected only to one third of seats in the Frunze City Soviet due to candidates not receiving the required number of votes. This is why another ballot will be held early in March.

According to the republican electoral committee, a similar situation has formed in some other regions of the republic.

'Unsanctioned Mass Meetings' Held in Frunze

LD2702203190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Feb 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] When one reflects on the situation in Dushanbe, one asks oneself how are the neighbors. A report from our Kirghizia correspondent:

[Vladimir Fedorov] I shall say right away that they are not striking or shooting in Frunze and that no conflicts on ethnic grounds have been recorded according to the official information of the republican minister of internal affairs. Nevertheless, one cannot call the situation unclouded. On 25 and 26 January, and then on 5 February, unsanctioned mass meetings took place in the square in front of the building of the Communist Party

Central Committee and the government of the republic. The majority here was made up of young people of Kirghiz nationality.

[E.S. Kaptagayev, member of the "Ashar" society council and secretary of a Komsomol committee at the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences. In the main, two issues were raised at these mass meetings. They are the issue of implementing the state language, the law on state language; and the issue of adopting a law on emigration. Well, after these mass meetings a number, a series, of meetings were held with the republic's leadership, and it became clear that the major part of these issues; especially as far as the issue of implementing the state language is concerned, are being raised due to a lack of information.

[Fedorov] How do you appraise the situation in the city as of today?

[A.M. Muraliyev, chairman of the Frunze City Executive Committee] I have to say that the people's alarm, which resulted from the mass meetings that were held, this alarm still exists today, of course. But nevertheless, we have adopted a number of measures, organizational ones, measures to strengthen law and order, and explanatory measures, in order to calm people. As of today the situation is normal and is being kept under control.

[Fedorov] Nevertheless, there is a not very gratifying statistic which shows that the Russian-speaking population is leaving the republic. This means that people somehow do not have a sense of being protected. So are there guarantees here, and will what happened in Dushanbe be repeated here?

[Muraliyev] If one is to speak of guarantees, I can say that there are guarantees today, no question about it. We have found forms of contact with those people who organized the mass meeting. The issues can be resolved by sitting at a roundtable. And we have found this form, and it is producing positive results today.

Reportage on 25 Feb Tajikistan Elections

Press Conference Held

LD2402191690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The elections will begin tomorrow in Tajikistan. This situation is particularly interesting for us because, as you know well, recent events in Tajikistan have not left any good impressions. We have sent two special correspondents, Leonid Lazarevich and Mudzhafar Madzhidov, to work there. Listen to what they have to say:

[Madzhidov] A meeting with journalists held at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee press center was devoted to the forthcoming elections and the situation in Dushanbe where for the first time in the country elections will take place in a state of emergency. Shodi Shabdolov, secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at this meeting. He said:

[Begin recording] The situation in the republic has improved considerably; it is stabilizing and is under the complete control of state bodies. This you can see yourselves. But it also a fact that tension still exists amongst certain categories of the population. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] At the center of the journalists' attention was the question of how the elections will take place in conditions of a state of emergency.

[Begin recording—Shabdolov] Well, people have demanded directly that there be no changes to the planned time tables for holding the elections. The elections must be carried out on time; people have even said that neither the militia or the army are needed to ensure the elections, we oursleves will ensure order in the polling places, where people gather to hold the elections. There is the basis for the elections here to take place in a normal situation. If anyone tries to make changes anywhere for their own mercenary goals of course he will meet with a fitting rebuff. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] At the press conference it was reported that all necessary preparations for the succesful holding of the elections have been made.

Now on the eve of the elections 1,043 candidates have been registered. There are only five constituencies where there is only one candidate, 47 constituencies have two candidates, in the rest three to 17 candidates have been registered. It will, of course, be difficult for those of the electorate who will be choosing from 17 candidates.

I would like to talk about one further thing. The recent elections to local soviets in the republic showed that the activeness of the electorate in the city of Dushanbe and in other places was insufficiently high, and this of course causes concern. The people's deputies who are to be elected will have to decide many questions. The composition of the republic's suprem. soviet depends on the electorate, on their position tomorrow, and their activeness tomorrow.

Preliminary Results Cited

LD2702125290 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Preliminary results of elections to the parliament of Tajikistan, the Soviet republic in Central Asia, have been announced. In the capital, Dushanbe, voter turnout was extremely high despite the state of emergency. About 80 percent of voters cast their ballots for the leader of Tajik communists, Kakhar Makhkamov, who had a rival. Run off elections will be held at 109 electoral districts since local candidates failed to collect the needed percentage of votes. Each seat at the Tajik parliament was contested by two to 20 contenders.

Supreme Soviet Session Cancellation Explained

LD2302200190 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 11 Feb 90 p 1

[Announcement of Presidium of Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] In connection with the publication on 9 February, this year, of a decree of the Presidium of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on the cancellation of the decree of the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet of 3 February, 1990, regarding the convocation of the special 13th session of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation which was to be held on 10 February 1990, many citizens have enquired at the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet about the reason for the cancellation of this session.

Taking this into account, the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet deems it necessary to provide some explanations in this connection.

The reason for cancelling the decree on holding a session devoted to the matters of changing the border between Isfara rayon, Leninabad oblast, Tajik SSR, and Batken Rayon, Osh oblast, Kirgiz SSR, and the defining and approving the border between the Tajik SSR and the Kirgiz SSR, were Numerous telegrams and appeals from Kishlak soviets, from USSR people's deputies, and from deputies of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as fom deputies of local soviets of Isfara rayon, asking insistently that the announced session should not be held at that time.

They justified their request by the fact that at the session of the Vorukh Kishlak Soviet of People's Deputies, which was held on 4 February, 1990, and also at meetings of labor collectives and of citizens in their localities in Isfara Rayon, disagreement was expressed with the decision of the Parity Commission of the Tajik SSR and the Kirgiz SSR regarding the border between Isfara and Batken Rayons, because the study of the issues has not been completed.

Taking into account these circumstances, the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet complied with the request of the residents of the population centers of Vorukh, Chorku, and Surkh Kishlak soviets, of USSR people's deputies, of deputies of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, and also of deputies of the local soviet of Isfara Rayon, and cancelled the session.

The Presidium of the Kirgiz SSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a similar decision regarding the cancellation of its own session.

Report on Arms Smuggling to Tajikistan Defended

PM2702150590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under rubric "Rumors and Facts": "To Be Precise"]

[Text] On 21 February the "Vremya" program presented television viewers with a report on the situation in Tajikistan. Inter alia, Major General A. Martovskiy, first deputy chief of the Central Asian border district, accused IZVESTIYA of spreading rumors about the Afghan mujahidin's smuggling of weapons into this republic. It was noted that the correspondent had probably been using unchecked reports. In this connection, we want to inform our readers that the information published in the newspaper's No. 50 issue is based on reports issued by TASS (18 February 1990), UPI (17 February 1990) and REUTER (18 February 1990). In conclusion, we also refer esteemed Comrade Martovskiy and the editors of the "Vremya" program to the item published in the latest issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (No. 8) entitled "From Prime Sources" from which it is clear that the reports of the three worldwide agencies are by no means based on rumors.

Reportage on Situation in Dushanbe

Tajik Plenum Held

90US0565A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by TRUD correspondent in Dushanbe V. Zakhvatov: "Repulsing Pogrom Thugs"]

[Text] Before speaking of today's main event, the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee plenum, I would like to recall a little scene that has probably burned itself into my memory forever.

It was in the afternoon on Thursday. A large meeting was being held on Lenin Square. But either the most vehement extremists were in hiding or the famous artist Khabibullo Abdkrazzokov had succeeded in captivating the square with his amazing talent—in either case the audience was behaving peacefully enough. The informals were speaking, and then a mullah spoke and prayed.... Something surprising: I did not meet a single party or soviet worker on the square. Then I walked over to the Council of Ministers building and watched as, from a back porch guarded by three infantry fighting vehicles, a well-known worker with the Council of Ministers descended with...two plastic containers crammed full of food from the Council of Ministers snack bar. And this despite the fact that Thursday was traditionally the day that food was distributed to the apparat. And in the city there was a shortage of bread....

And now, about the plenum. Here are a few of the statements of its participants. A woman from Kulyab, a party veteran (she did not introduce herself at the microphone), said that when she drove into Dushanbe she saw busses full of young people. According to them, they were going to "stir up Kulyab." She demanded that the first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee take decisive action.

One of the leaders of the "Rostakhez" association spoke. Appointed TaSSR [Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic]

deputy minister of justice literally 2 or 3 weeks ago. Khalifa-Bobo Khamidov had earlier worked as a teacher in the Tajik University Department of Law. He accused the command administrative apparat of an unwillingness to participate in a dialog with the people. In the meantime one of those who had been invited to the plenum, an activist from a self-defense detachment of Tsentralnyy Rayon in Dushanbe (he did not give his last name), noted: "I do not know why, out there on the square, 5,000 young people call themselves the people and elect a 'people's committee,' while here at the plenum they call us simply city-dwellers or residents. I am authorized to declare in the name of the leadership of the self-defense detachments that we, 143,000 people of various nationalities, including tens of thousands of Tajiks, also have the right to call ourselves the people. We demand that all future negotiations between the government and the participants of unsanctioned meetings or their 'people's committees' include as a full-fledged third participant the International Front, which has just been established by the self-defense detachments."

The man further announced, "Just yesterday we lived in fear. We were terribly afraid. But today we have united and we present an awesome force that can repulse any band of extremists or pogrom thugs. We have already stopped pogrom thugs in several places and captured provocateurs. And I ask you to consider this—despite their threats, many of us were born in Dushanbe and will not leave. Even without our forces we will battle the bands."

And here is one more report: A group of prisoners from one of the Tajikistan prisons went on television to address the participants of the pogroms and excesses. They announced openly that many of them have families in Dushanbe, and they warned pogrom thugs, rapists, hooligans, and murderers: There is no doubt that each of you will be convicted by a people's court for your crimes, and then any of you whose hands and conscience are stained with blood will be judged once more in the detention centers—by those who are already imprisoned.... This may be the first time criminals have spoken out against crime.

The plenum rejected the ultimatum of those at the meeting for the dismissal of the republic's leadership.

The activities of the self-defense detachments are coordinated by the city and rayon party committees and the rayon soviet executive committees.

Area Normalizing

90US0565C Moscow TRUD in Russian
18 Feb 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by TRUD correspondent V. Zakhvatov under rubric "Report in Detail": "Dushanbe: The City Breathed Easier"]

[Text] I will begin today's article with a telephone call to the correspondents' post:

A close acquaintance has lived all this time in someone else's apartment along with three other families to protect his own family from the pogrom. He yells into the receiver, "You know, this morning our wives and the children went outside to walk around a bit. They said that the fresh open air made them feel giddy.... And I went to the bazaar in our microrayon. If you could have heard how obliging and polite the vegetable and onion sellers were—Tajiks and Uzbeks from a neighboring village."

Yes, the eastern bazaar is the most accurate barometer of what is going on. Just yesterday the quiet city markets filled up again with fruits and vegetables. The only reminders of what has happened are the shattered windows and a whole chain of burned state stores and cooperative stalls.

The smell of hot flat-cakes reminds me of something I saw several days ago. A bread-baking plant guarded by soldiers sent hot loaves of bread into the microrayon, but a crowd of pogrom thugs would not let the vehicles through. I remember how sad it was to see the overturned bread van and the still-warm loaves scattered about and trampled into the dirt. Seven vehicles full of bread were overturned and ransacked by the pogrom thugs, many of whom were drunk and "high" on hashish, according to mullah Abdugaffor.

The mullah Abdugaffor and several other clergymen were among the pogrom thugs during the days of the disturbances. But they were not acting in concert with them. The mullah Abdugaffor personally saved people from the intoxicated crowd and stood with outstretched arms in front of the wave of young people rushing at the line of internal affairs soldiers. This same man did not sleep for days, and when the pogroms began he and his assistants of the Makhallinskiy council of elders went around to the houses of the Russians, Germans, and the people of other nationalities living on the outskirts of the city and told them that in the event of danger they should go with their children straight to the mosque where they would be protected.

And now I would like to return to my article in the 17 February issue. When I wrote that I had not met a single party or soviet worker at the meeting attended by thousands of people, I could not have surmised that those in the TaSSR [Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers would react to this statement with such resentment. Therefore I am reporting that among the many thousands of people at the meeting at that time there were workers from the Council of Ministers—G. Koshlakov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, senior officials Yu. Azimov, S. Radzhabova, A. Bakhobov, and several others. But, if I am to be honest to the end, none of them went up to the microphone and they talked only to whomever was beside them....

Serious rumors started up in the city at night when one of the participants in the Central Committee plenum mentioned in a speech on republic radio that a detachment of mujahidin are gathering on the border of Afghanistan on the far side of the Pyandzh River with the intention of entering the USSR to aid those at the meetings. To calm all those who are worried about the residents of Dushanbe, I quote Major General A.N. Martovitskiy, deputy commander of the Central Asia Border District:

"In all earnestness I wish to declare that an increase in the movement of detachments of the Afghan armed opposition is in fact taking place on the far side of the bordering river. However, we have taken every measure to repulse border crossings. We are deploying sufficient combat equipment and men for this."

There is apprehension in the other cities of Tajikistan. However, there are no pogroms or excesses there. On the contrary, the secretaries of the city party committees in Kulyab and Kurgan-Tyube, other workers, and all of the most active members of the party and administration have gone out on the streets and are explaining to the people the decisions of the Tajik Communist Party plenum that just took place. Nonetheless, numerous self-defense detachments have been formed in many of the cities and rayons of Tajikistan. Incidentally, such detachments are a completely unique phenomenon resulting from the disturbances, according to workers at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Here is a characteristic example, of which I myself was a witness. It was 3:00 am. A civilian truck, shining its headlights, drove into one of the microrayons with a group of people inside. And suddenly not far from us there came the sharp sound of blows on an oxygen cylinder suspended from a tree. Pieces of rail echoed the sound nearby. In the houses the steam pipes began to rumble. And a minute later a huge group of people armed with anything at hand surrounded the truck. At the command, "Hands up," those in the truck stood up and shouted, "We are on your side! We are on your side!" It turned out that they had driven from the neighboring microrayon to come to see these very activists of the self-defense detachment. But all of the people were showing up. I counted about 600 people.

It seems that real men have not disappeared from our midst. Before the crowd dispersed, one of the commanders took the opportunity to explain rules for the application of force necessary to defend one's family, one's own life, and one's home. A few minutes later the microrayon was again quiet and the windows gradually darkened....

Local television carried a report by M. Navzhuvanov, military commander of the city and minister of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

Between 12 and 16 February 97 crimes were registered in Dushanbe. There are 80 under criminal investigation, 11 were thefts of personal property, 7 were thefts of state property, 13 involved serious bodily injury, 10 were robberies, and there were dozens of instances of automobile theft, arson, assault, and hooliganism. Over these days only the Yuvelirtorg [Bureau for the Sale of Jewelry, Watches, and Precious Metals and Stones] lost more than R1 million. In the course of the week 567 people received injuries and wounds from knives and firearms, of which 187 were hospitalized. Twenty people died from wounds.

Misappropriation of weapons and ammunition took place. There were 327 weapons turned in to militia organs.

The operational situation in the city over the past few days, according to the TaSSR MVD, was practically at the "background" level....

Curfew Hours Reduced

LD2702151590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe, 27 Feb (TAJIKTA-TASS)—The curfew has been reduced by 2 hours in the capital of Tajikistan (a republic in Soviet Central Asia). The republic's Supreme Soviet issued a decree effective today which establishes the time of the curfew from 2300 to 0500.

"This decision was made after improvements in the social and political situation in the city of Dushanbe, where normal life has been complicated by the tragic events of 12-13 February. These events led to the introduction of a state of emergency and the curfew," said Gaibnazar Pallayev, chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet. He noted that thanks to the arrival of a limited contingent of Interior Ministry [MVA] troops and subunits of the Soviet Army and the organization of self-defense detachments in residential districts, attempts by certain forces to destabilize the situation and to provoke young people into acts of terror against the civilian population were firmly suppressed. At the present time, the situation in the town is fully under control. In recent days not one crime on interethnic grounds has been recorded. Life in the city is gradually returning to its normal course. All industrial enterprises and institutions are working and lessons at institutes and schools have begun again. Cinemas are open during the day.

At a press conference for Soviet journalists, which was held this morning, Gennadiy Mikhaylin, procurator of the republic, spoke about the work of the emergency investigative group to uncover active participants in the pogroms and those who provided the ideological inspiration. From what he said, more than 40 people have been accused of various crimes committed on 12-14 February. Seven of them are accused of organizing the mass disturbances which led to loss of life. The so-called provisional people's committee, created unconstitutionally, has been disbanded by the republic's Supreme Soviet and all its future activities will be outlawed. Its chairman, Buri Karimov, who is deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, is to answer party charges. The

republic's parliament is discussing the issue of the legality of combining elevated state office with leadership of informal organizations.

Trials To Be Held

LD2702182990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Dushanbe:

The curfew was reduced by two hours today in the Tajik capital. It was introduced on the city's territory in view of the mass disorders. By decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, the curfew time has been fixed from 2300 to 0500, in the morning. The document adopted emphasizes that the commandant of the city and Navdzhuvanov, the minister of internal affairs of Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], have been granted the right as the situation is further stablized in Dushanbe, to make the appropriate amendments to the procedure for implementation and time of application of the curfew. This step is dictated by the improvement in the sociopolitical situation in the city.

The life of the towns people is gradually returning to normal. All industrial enterprises and institutions are working. On the initiative of a number of labor collectives, last Saturday and Sunday [24 and 25 February] were working days for many enterprises and building sites of the Tajik capital. Dushanbe people are trying to make up for the production losses incurred as a result of the enforced idling. School classes and college auditoriums are fuller. The only places empty today are the ones of those who have left the republic with their parents. But the refugees and those who were not frightened off by the extremists' threats must know that the guilty will not avoid retribution.

The first open trials will be held soon of a number of active participants in the mass disorders and their ideological inspirers. A special prompt inquiry group, which has been set up, continues to detect those who are directly to blame for the pogroms which led to casualties and material losses running into the millions.

The local papers have published the resolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium on the so-called People's Committee set up by the participants in the unsanctioned meetings of 12-14 February. By a government decision, its further activity is illegal and contravenes the law. As already reported, party investigation is being made regarding committee head Karimov, who occupies the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, and regarding a number of other leaders of the republic. The people of the republic are alarmed by the question of the lawfulness of the participation of communists occupying high state posts in various informal movements. Communists are preparing to raise this question at the coming Tajik Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which is expected to be held on 3 March of this year.

People's Deputies Elections Held in Uzbekistan

LD1802170490 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Tashkent February 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Gladilov:

The atmosphere at the elections which were held today to local soviets of people's deputies of Uzbekistan (Soviet Central Asian Republic), was not characterised by the conformity of ideas.

This atmosphere reflects diversity of the republic's social and political life. Numerous informal associations took different attitudes to the elections: Some called for boycotting them, others displayed hectic activities even at the latest stage, hoping for the victory of their candidates.

Various appeals and leaflets appeared in Tashkent and other cities during the last week before the elections. Discrepant rumours swept the republic. It was evidently advantageous for someone to whip up the already tense situation.

However, authorities managed to stabilise the situation, and today the atmosphere is calm and business-like in Tashkent and other cities of the republic.

Nevertheless, voters at some polling stations had to solve a problem which came from the period of stagnation: Three ballot papers for the elections to district, city and supreme soviets contained only one candidate each—there were not alternative nominees.

Many voters said after voting that they struck out all candidates only due to the fact that they had no right of choice.

"It is too early to speak about even preliminary results," said Turkin Sabitov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. "However, I believe that the majority of 10 million voters registered in Uzbekistan will go to polls. The voting proceeds smoothly and in a business-like manner: There is no former pseudo-holiday mood and irrelevant hullabaloo."

Preliminary Results Analyzed

PM2302123190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Orlov report: "First Deputies Named"]

[Text] The first results of the elections to the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and local soviets have been released. Out of the 500 seats for people's deputies in the republic less than 400 have been filled as yet. And in some 90-odd okrugs repeat elections will have to be held in early March. In these okrugs there were more than three candidates per seat, and nobody gained the required number of votes.

Candidates in 30 okrugs where two candidates were running were unable to win more than half of the vote. Within 2 months repeat elections will be held there—new candidates nominated by the voters will be included in the campaign from the very outset.

"Although no unrest or disturbances were recorded anywhere on election day, the previous day certain informal organizations protested the election procedure for party leaders in single-candidate okrugs," T.Kh. Sabitov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, said. "These appeals did not meet with any support, and in almost all 179 single-candidate okrugs the candidates won no less than 99 percent of the vote. Only in one okrug—in Surkhan-Darya Oblast—did the party raykom [rayon committee] first secretary fail to win half of the vote. And in another okrug—in Khorezm Oblast—the raykom first secretary withdrew his candidacy.

"According to preliminary telegraph reports—we don't yet have all the results—more than 90 percent of all voters took part in the voting."

[Orlov] I have heard it said that even the current elections, despite being new, were held according to the old system.

[Sabitov] To a certain extent that's fair. We have not completely managed to overcome administrative-edict methods. Take single-candidate okrugs, for instance. If candidates drop out during the campaign—that is natural. But nominating just one candidate and trying to prevent any other nominations is, of course, a principle from the past which has not yet been eradicated. We at the Central Electoral Commission believe that there should be no fewer than three candidates per okrug.

[Orlov] Were there any violations of the electoral law on election day?

[Sabitov] We don't have any information on that yet. However, I should note the inadequate preparations by many okrug commission members. These people should clearly have extensive and specialized familiarity with the law, over and above the seminars which we hold. Incidentally, the electoral commissions often include representatives of the public and unofficial associations—they provided additional checks during the count.

[Orlov] I know that there have been complaints about the republic's election law being incomplete and about its articles being interpreted in different ways.

[Sabitov] It is now clear that specialists—sociologists and lawyers—will have to do more work on the law in order to submit a more honed version to the Supreme Soviet. For instance, Article 31 of the law states that candidate people's deputies shall be nominated, as a rule, by citizens working or living on the territory of a given okrug. It is this "as a rule" which has become a stumbling block. In my view, we should look again at the number of participants in meetings and conferences to nominate candidates, and at the right of social organizations to nominate candidates. For instance, the Writers Union nominated people who are not members of that organization. Is that right? I think that the republic's Supreme Soviet will examine these problems. [Sabitov ends]

The first session will evidently be held in late March.

Repeat Election Set for 15 Apr

LD2402233390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The results of the elections of people's deputies of Uzbekistan that took place on 18 February have been summed up. In 36 electoral districts, on the decision of the electoral committee of the republic, a repeat ballot will be held. It is planned for 15 April.

Moscow Radio Defends BBC Journalists

LD1902174790 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The Soviet news agency TASS has issued a statement accusing the BBC correspondents Aleksandr Levich and Tim Whewell of being responsible for the false reports of mass riots in Samarkand.

BBC radio included that information in its broadcasts last Saturday [17 February].

In some cases, we disagree with our colleagues at the BBC. But in this case, we believe that it's our duty to defend our British colleagues. The BBC's report and reports by a number of other stations quoted Radio Moscow and the independent news agency INTERFAX.

INTERFAX's correspondents later found out that that information, obtained from unofficial sources, was not authentic.

We acknowledged our mistake and in the middle of Saturday broadcast a statement by the USSR Interior Ministry dismissing the falsehood. News agencies took note of that and distributed updated reports.

Deplorably our colleagues at the TASS news agency failed to notice either the references to Radio Moscow made by news agencies and radio stations or the refutation that ensued or the updated reports.

We present our apologies to our listeners and colleagues.

In the future we will undertake additional measures to verify our reports.

Measures Taken To Ease 'Tension' in Uzbekistan

PM2702103990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by special correspondents Lieutenant Colonels S. Pashayev and V. Astafyev: "Uzbekistan: One More Hot Spot"]

[Text] Tashkent Oblast, 22 Feb—On 22 February Uzbekistan's newspapers published the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Introducing Order Into the Organizations [as published] and Holding of Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]." This decree temporarily bans the holding of street processions and demonstrations until the sociopolitical situation in the republic stabilizes. But sanctioned rallies and meetings will be held following the established procedure and only on closed premises.

These measures have been made unavoidable and are aimed at easing the excessive sociopolitical tension and preventing an upsurge of negative phenomena in the republic. Unfortunately, such phenomena have been taking place over the past few days.

It all started with rumors that a resident at the collective farm [kolkhoz] named for the 40th anniversary of October in Tashkent Oblast's Bukinskiy Rayon had been beaten up by Meskhetian Turks. These rumors were unconfirmed, but they have made the situation in the rayon electric.

On 19 February around 200 people, including the relatives of the victim and some of the kolkhoz residents, provoked a violation of public order. During the conflict things reached the stage of a pogrom—houses were set on fire. Over the next few days the tension in the region did not diminish, despite the measures taken. At the time of filing, according to figures from competent organs, around 50 buildings have been burned, the evacuation of Meskhetian Turks continues, and around 2,000 people have been evacuated from the danger zone.

The republic's leadership is attempting to localize the unrest by taking the most resolute action. We were able to see for ourselves how necessary such measures are. Deciding to travel from Akkurgan to Buka, when we stopped at Alimkent we found ourselves literally nose to nose with a mob engaged in a pogrom, behind whom a house on the kolkhoz named for Sabir Rakhimov was well alight. We had to turn back. Admittedly, just a few minutes later subunits of internal troops arrived and the mob was dispersed.

Hope that it will prove possible to localize the unrest was provided by a conversation with M. Mirkasymov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, who has been in the area of interethnic conflict during the entire period together with representatives of party and soviet organs. The most resolute of measures have been taken against the pogromists, he said. There have been no fatalities among the population. At the same time, an active dialogue is under way with representatives of the warring factions; we are fully resolved to stop anyone who tries to start a pogrom....

This position is wholly shared by the residents of the rayon and the republic. We were able to talk with many of them, incidentally. Including those whom we found outside their burned home. They were all negative about those involved in the pogroms, unanimously supported the decree, and demanded that the criminals be severely punished.

New Organization Founded in Uzbekistan

LD2702202290 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Tashkent February 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Eimira Tukhvatullina:

A new public organisation—the Popular movement Erk (will)—has been formed in Uzbekistan. Its founding assembly was held in the capital of this Soviet Central Asian republic.

It adopted the main provisions of the organisation's programme and elected its governing bodies. Poets Erkin Vakhidov and Mukhammad Salikh, people's deputies of Uzbekistan, head the new organisation.

The programme calls for Uzbekistan's economic and political autonomy within the framework of the Soviet federation, human rights, cementing people's friendship and inter-ethnic ties.

Erk emerged within the Birlik (unity) Movement, which is almost two-years-old. Militants' actions during the tragic events in Ferghana last June prompted its founding as an independent organisation. At that time, militants, using the name of Birlik as a cover, attacked Meskhetian Turks, although the leaders of that movement hurried to dissociate themselves from the attackers.

"No goal can justify bloodshed," poet Erkin Vakhidov, a co-chairman of Erk, told TASS. "I am sure that none of the public or political movements can achieve success if it relies on brute force. Our method is dialogue, conviction and discussion. Our goal is the well-being and peace of all people living in Uzbekistan."

Erk involves scientists, economists, lawyers, riters and art workers of various nationalities. There are many communists among them.

Vakhidov noted that the communists of the new organisation fully supported the platform of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress, especially those of its provisions which speak about the need to outlaw organisations and movements propagating violence, ethnic strife, and pursuing militant and anti-constitutional goals.